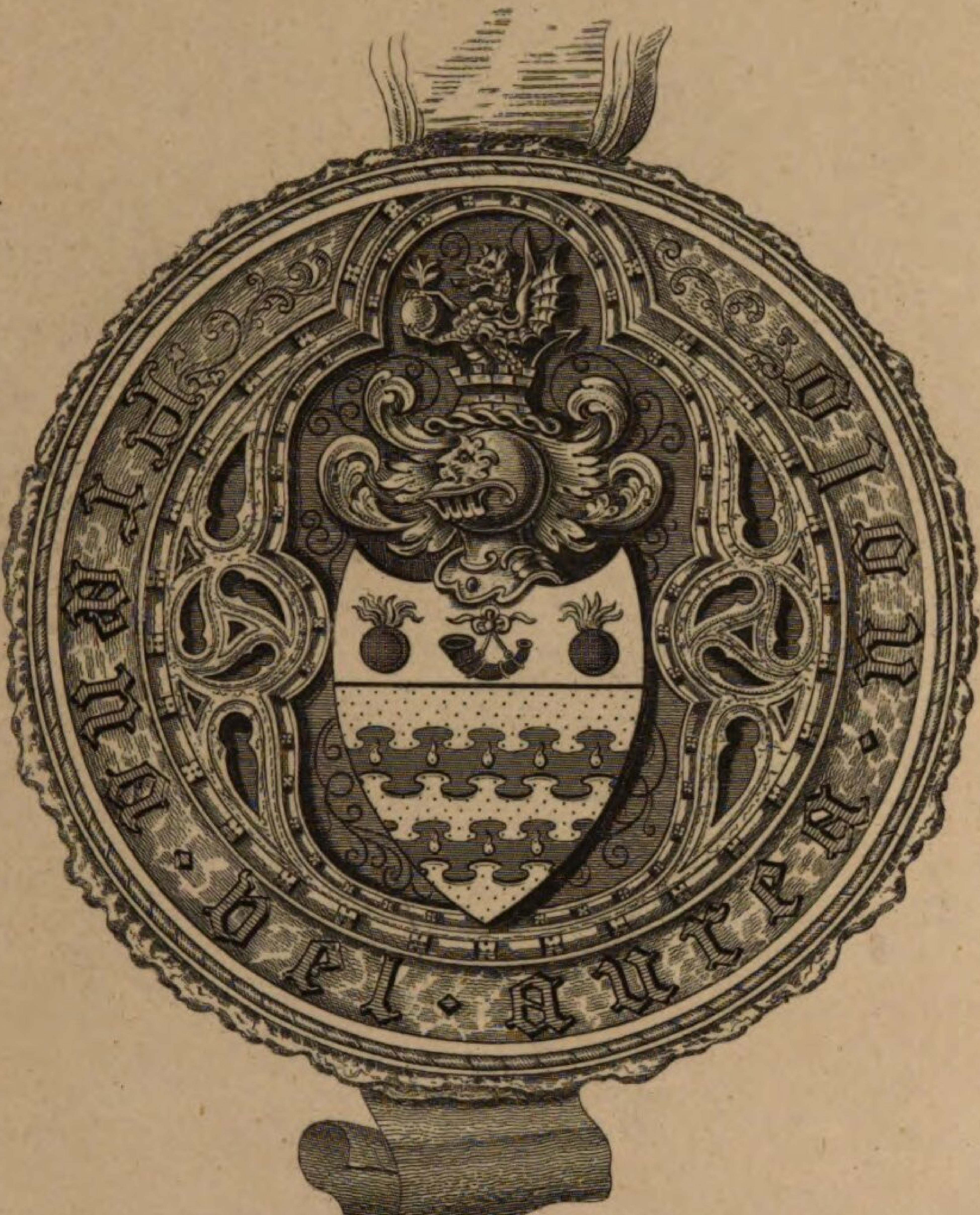
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GENERAL HISTORY AND COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

ARRANGED IN SYSTEMATIC ORDER:

FORMING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF NAVIGATION, DISCOVERY, AND COMMERCE, BY SEA AND LAND, FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

ROBERT KERR, F. R. S. & F. A. S. EDIN.

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A

GENERAL HISTORY

AND

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

PART II. BOOK II. CONTINUED.

CHAPTER VII. *Continued.*

CONTINUATION OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF PERU, AFTER THE DEATH OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO, TO THE DEFEAT OF GONZALO PIZARRO, AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF TRANQUILLITY IN THE COUNTRY; WRITTEN BY AUGUSTINO ZARATE.

SECTION III.

Continuation of the Viceroyalty of Blasco Nunnez Vela, to his deposition and expulsion from Peru.

THE viceroy received immediate intelligence of the revolt of Puelles, as mentioned in the foregoing section, which was brought to him by a Peruvian captain named Yllatopa; and, though he considered it as a very unfortunate incident, he took immediate measures to counteract their intentions of joining the enemy, by sending a detachment to occupy the passes of the valley of Jauja, through which they must necessarily march on their way from Guanuco to join Gonzalo. For this purpose, he immediately ordered his brother Vela Nunnez to

march in all haste with a detachment of forty light armed cavalry, and thirty musqueteers under the command of Gonzalo Diaz, besides whom ten of the friends and relations of Nunnez went as volunteers on this expedition. On purpose to expedite the march of this detachment as much as possible, the viceroy caused thirty-six mules to be purchased, which cost 12,000 ducats, the money being taken from the royal treasury. Being thus excellently equipped, they set out from Lima, and marched to Guadachili [1], about twenty leagues from Lima on their way to the valley of Jauja. At this place a plot was formed by the soldiers for killing Vela Nunnez and deserting to the army of Gonzalo, which was revealed by the following incident. Certain scouts who preceded the detachment about four leagues beyond Guadachili in the district of Pariacaca, met the friar Thomas de San Martino, provincial of the Dominicans, who had been sent by the viceroy to Cuzco to try if it were possible to come to some agreement with Gonzalo; on this occasion one of the soldiers secretly informed the provincial of the particulars of the conspiracy, begging him to take immediate means of prevention, as it was to be executed on the following night. The provincial accordingly hastened his journey to Guadachili, taking all the scouts he could meet with along with him, as he told them their present expedition was entirely useless, as Puelles and his troops had passed through Jauja two days before, and it was now impossible to intercept them. On his arrival in Guadachili, the provincial immediately informed Vela Nunnez of the danger to which he was exposed, who accordingly consulted with some of his friends and relations on the means of escape. In the evening, they ordered out their horses, as if for the purpose of sending them to water, and mounting them immediately, they saved themselves by flight under the cloud of night, being guided on their way by the provincial.

When the flight of Vela Nunnez and his friends was known, Juan de la Torre, Pedro Hita, Jorge Griego, and the other soldiers who had formed the conspiracy, went immediately to the main guard, where they compelled all the other soldiers, under threats of instant death, to promise going off along with them to join Gonzalo. Almost the whole of the detachment

1 The place mentioned in the text is probably what is now named Guarochiri, which is in the direction of the march, and nearly at the distance indicated.—E.

ment promised compliance, and even the captain Gonzalo Diaz was of the number; but he was apparently more harshly treated by the conspirators than the others. They tied his hands as if fearing he might use measures against them; yet he was not only believed to have been a participator in the plot, but was even supposed to be its secret leader. Most of the inhabitants of Lima expected Diaz to act in the way he did, as he was son-in-law to Puelles against whom he was sent, and it was not to be supposed he would give his aid to arrest his father-in-law. The whole party therefore, immediately set out in search of Gonzalo, mounted on the mules which had cost so high a price, and joined him near the city of Guamanga, where Puelles had arrived two days before them. At the time of their junction, the adherents of Gonzalo were so much discouraged by the lukewarmness of Gaspard Rodriguez and his friends, that in all probability the whole army under Gonzalo would have dispersed if they had been three days later in arriving. But the arrival of Puelles gave the insurgents great encouragement, both by the reinforcement which he brought of forty horse and twenty musketeers, and by his exhortations; as he declared himself ready to proceed against the viceroy even with his own troops, and had no doubt of being able to take him prisoner or to drive him out of the country, he was so universally hated. The encouragements derived by the insurgents from the junction of Puelles, was still farther strengthened by the arrival of Diaz and his companions.

Vela Nunnez got safe to Lima, where he informed the viceroy of the unfortunate result of his expedition, who was very much cast down on the occasion, as his affairs seemed to assume a very unpromising aspect. Next day Rodrigo Ninno, and three or four others who refused to follow the example of Diaz, arrived at Lima in a wretched condition, having suffered a thousand insults from the conspirators, who deprived them of their horses and arms, and even stripped them of their clothes. Ninno was dressed in an old doublet and breeches, without stockings, having only a pair of miserable pack-thread sandals, and had walked all the way with a stick in his hand. The viceroy received him very graciously, praising his loyalty, and told him that he appeared more nobly in his rags than if clothed in the most costly attire.

When Balthasar de Loyasa had procured the safe conduct from the viceroy for his employers, he set out without loss of time for the army of Gonzalo Pizarro. As his departure and the

the nature of his dispatches were soon known in Lima, it was universally believed there that the troops under Pizarro would soon disperse of their own accord, leaving the viceroy in peaceable and absolute command of the whole colony, upon which he would assuredly put the ordinances in force with the utmost rigour to the utter ruin of every one: For this reason, several of the inhabitants, and some even of the soldiers belonging to the viceroy, came to the resolution of following Loyasa and taking his dispatches from him. Loyasa left Lima in the evening of a Saturday, in the month of September 1545, accompanied by Captain Ferdinand de Zavallos. They were mounted on mules, without any attendants, and had no baggage to delay their journey. Next night, twenty-five persons set out from Lima on horseback in pursuit of them, determined to use every possible expedition to get up with Loyasa that they might take away his dispatches. The chiefs in this enterprize were, Don Balthasar de Castro, son of the Conde de la Gomera, Lorenzo Mexia, Rodrigo de Salazar, Diego de Carvajal usually called the gallant, Francisco de Escovedo, Jerom de Carvajal, and Pedro Martin de Cecilia, with eighteen others in their company. Using every effort to expedite their journey, they got up with Loyasa and Zavallos about forty leagues from Lima, and found them asleep in a *tambo* or palace of the Incas. Taking from them the letters and dispatches with which they were entrusted, they forwarded these immediately to Gonzalo Pizarro by means of a soldier, who used the utmost diligence in travelling through bye ways and short cuts through the mountains, with all of which he was well acquainted. After this, de Castro and the rest of the malecontents continued their journey towards the camp of Gonzalo, taking Loyasa and Zavallos along with them under strict custody.

Upon receiving the intercepted dispatches which were brought to him by the soldier, Gonzalo Pizarro secretly communicated them to Captain Carvajal, whom he had recently appointed his lieutenant-general, or maestre de campo, in consequence of the sickness of Alfonzo de Toro, who held that commission on commencing the march from Cuzco. After consulting with Carvajal, he communicated the whole matter to the captains and those other chiefs of the insurgent army who had shewn no intentions of abandoning him, as they had not participated in applying for the safe conduct from the viceroy. Some of these, from motives of enmity against

against individuals, others from envy, and others again from the hope of profiting by the forfeiture of the lands and Indians belonging to the accused, advised Gonzalo to punish these persons with rigor, as a warning to others not to venture upon similar conduct. In this secret consultation, it was determined to select the following from among those who were clearly implicated in taking part with the viceroy, by their names being contained in the safe conduct taken from Loyasa: Captain Gaspard Rodriguez; Philip Gutierrez, the son of Alfonso Gutierrez of Madrid who was treasurer to his majesty; and Arias Maldonado, a gentleman of Galicia, who had remained along with Gutierrez at Guamanga, two or three days march in the rear of the army, under pretence of having some preparations to make for the journey. Accordingly, Gonzalo sent off Pedro de Puelles to Guamanga accompanied by an escort of cavalry, who arrested these two latter gentlemen and caused them to be beheaded.

Gaspar Rodriguez was in the camp, where he commanded a body of near two hundred pikemen; and as Gonzalo and his advisers dared not to put him to death openly, as he was a very rich man of considerable influence and much beloved, they had to employ a stratagem for his arrestment. Gonzalo ordered a hundred and fifty musqueteers of the company commanded by Ceremeno to hold themselves in readiness around his tent, near which likewise he caused his train of artillery to be drawn up ready for service, and then convened all the captains belonging to his troops in his tent, under pretence of communicating some dispatches which he had received from Lima. When the whole were assembled, and Rodriguez among them, he became alarmed on seeing that the tent was surrounded by armed men and artillery, and wished to have retired under pretext of urgent business. At this time, and in presence of the whole assembled officers, the lieutenant-general Carvajal, came up to Rodriguez as if without any premeditated intention, caught hold of the guard of his sword, and drew it from the scabbard. Carvajal then desired him to make confession of his sins to a priest, who was in attendance for that express purpose, as he was to be immediately put to death. Rodriguez used every effort to avoid this sudden and unlooked for catastrophe, and offered to justify himself from every accusation which could be brought against him; but every thing he could allege was of no avail,

as his death was resolved upon, and he was accordingly beheaded.

The execution of these three leaders astonished every one, being the first which were ventured upon since the usurpation of Gonzalo; but they more especially terrified those other persons who were conscious of having participated in the same plot for which their chiefs were now put to death. A few days afterwards, De Castro and his companions arrived at the camp of the insurgents, with their prisoners Loyasa and Zavallos. It has been reported that, on the very day of their arrival, Gonzalo sent off his lieutenant-general Carvajal to meet them on the road by which they were expected, with orders to have Loyasa and Zavallos strangled: But, fortunately for them, their conductors had left the ordinary road, taking a circuitous and unfrequented path, so that Carvajal did not fall in with them; and, when they were brought before Gonzalo, so many of his friends and accomplices interceded for their pardon, that he agreed to spare their lives. Loyasa was commanded immediately to quit the camp, on foot and without any provisions. Zavallos was detained in the camp as a prisoner; and, rather more than a year afterwards, was appointed superintendent of those who were employed in digging for gold in the province of Quito. While in that employment, it was represented to Gonzalo that Zavallos had become so exceedingly rich, that he must have purloined a great proportion of the gold which was drawn from the mines. Being predisposed against him by his former conduct in the service of the viceroy, Gonzalo was easily persuaded to believe him guilty, and ordered him to be hanged.

The departure of De Castro and his companions from Lima, as already mentioned, though conducted in great secrecy, was soon discovered. On the same night, as Diego de Urbina, the major general of the army belonging to the viceroy, was going the rounds of the city, he happened to visit the dwellings of several of those who had accompanied De Castro; and finding that they were absent, and that their horses, arms, servants, and Indians were all removed, he immediately suspected that they were gone off to join Gonzalo. Urbina went directly to the viceroy, who was already in bed, and assured him that most of the inhabitants had fled from the city, as he believed that the defection was more general than it turned out to be. The viceroy was very justly alarmed by this intelligence, and ordered the drums to beat to arms. When,

When, in consequence of this measure, all the captains and other officers in his service were assembled, he gave them orders to visit the whole houses of the city, by which means it was soon known who had deserted. As Diego and Jerom de Carvajal, and Francisco Escovedo, nephews of the commissary Yllan Suarez de Carvajal were among the absentees, the viceroy immediately suspected Yllan Suarez of being a partizan of Gonzalo Pizarro, believing that his nephews had acted by his orders, more especially as they dwelt in his house, and could not therefore have gone away without his knowledge; though assuredly they might easily have escaped by a different door at a distance from the principal entrance. Actuated by these suspicions, the viceroy sent his brother, Vela Nunnez, with a detachment of musqueteers, to bring Suarez immediately to the palace for examination. On arriving at his house, Suarez was in bed, but was brought immediately before the viceroy, who was now dressed in his armour, and reposing on a couch. It is reported by some who were present, that the viceroy addressed Suarez on entering in the following words. "Traitor! you have sent off your nephews to join Gonzalo Pizarro." "Call me not traitor, my lord," replied Suarez, "I am as faithful a subject to his majesty as you are." The viceroy was so much irritated by the insolent behaviour of Suarez, that he drew his sword and advanced towards him, and some even allege that he stabbed him in the breast. The viceroy, however, constantly asserted that he did not use his sword against Suarez; but that the servants and halberdiers who were in attendance, on noticing the insolent behaviour of the commissary to their master, had put him to death, without allowing him time for confession, or even for speaking a single word in his own defence. The body was immediately carried away for interment, and as the commissary was very universally beloved, it was thought dangerous to take his dead body through the great court of the viceregal palace, where there were always a hundred soldiers on guard during the night, lest it might occasion some disturbance. For this reason, it was let down from a gallery which overlooked the great square, whence some Indians and negroes carried it to a neighbouring church, and buried it without any ceremony in his ordinary scarlet cloak.

Three days after this tragical event, when the judges of the royal audience made the viceroy a prisoner, as shall be presently related, among their first transactions, they made a judicial

judicial examination respecting the circumstances attendant upon the death of Suarez. It was ascertained in the first place, that he had disappeared since the time when he was carried before the viceroy at midnight; after which, the body was dug up, and the wounds examined[2]. When the intelligence of the death of Suarez spread through Lima, it gave occasion to much dissatisfaction, as every one knew that he had been always favourable to the interest and authority of the viceroy, and had even exerted his whole influence in procuring him to be received at Lima, in opposition to the sentiments of the majority of the magistrates of that city. His death happened on the night of Sunday the 13th of September 1544. Early next morning, Don Alfonzo de Montemayor was sent by the viceroy with a party of thirty horse, in pursuit of De Castro and the others who had gone after Loyasa and Zavallos. When Montemayor had travelled two or three days in the pursuit, he learnt that De Castro and his companions were already so far advanced in their journey that it would be utterly impossible to get up with them. He accordingly turned back, and receiving information on his return towards Lima, that Jerom de Carvajal had lost his companions during the night, and, being unable to discover the road by which they were gone, had concealed himself in a marsh among some tall reeds, where Montemayor found him out, and carried him prisoner to Lima, on purpose to give him up to the viceroy. Fortunately for Carvajal, the viceroy was himself a prisoner when Montemayor returned to Lima.

When the anger of the viceroy had somewhat subsided, he used great pains to justify himself, in regard to the death of Suarez, explaining the reasons of his conduct in that affair to all who visited him, and endeavouring to convince them that he had just reasons of suspicion, giving a detailed account of all the circumstances respecting the arrest and death of Suarez. He even procured some judicial informations to be drawn up by the licentiate Cepeda, respecting the crimes which he laid to the charge of the commissary, of which the following is an abstract.

"It appeared reasonable to suppose that Suarez must have been privy to the desertion of his nephews, as they lived in his

2 This judicial examination, so formally announced, is left quite inconclusive by Zarate.—E.

his house and could not have gone off without his knowledge. He alleged that Suarez had not exerted all the care and diligence that were necessary and proper, in several affairs connected with the present troubles which had been confided to him. It was objected to him, that he was particularly interested in opposing the execution of the obnoxious regulations; since he would have been obliged, along with the rest, to give up the lands and Indians he then held as an officer of the crown, which he had not done hitherto on account of the subsisting disturbances in the country. Lastly, the viceroy charged against him, that having entrusted Suarez at the very beginning of the troubles with certain dispatches for his brother, the licentiate Carvajal, who then dwelt at Cuzco, intended for procuring intelligence by his means of what was going on in that city, he had never given or procured any answer on that subject; although it must certainly have been easy for him to have procured intelligence from his brother, by means of the Indian vassals of both, and by those belonging to the king who were at his disposal officially, all of whom dwelt on the road between Lima and Cuzco." Besides that all these allegations carry very little weight in themselves, as evidences of the presumptive guilt of Suarez, none of them were ever satisfactorily established by legal proof.

As the viceroy found that all his affairs had turned out unfortunate, and that every person seemed much discontented in consequence of the death of Suarez, he changed his intention of waiting for Gonzalo Pizarro at Lima, which he had caused fortify in that view with ramparts and bastions. He now resolved to retire to the city of Truxillo, about eighty leagues from Lima, and entirely to abandon and even to dispeople the city of Lima; in the execution of this project he meant to send the invalids, old persons, women, children, and all the valuable effects and baggage belonging to the inhabitants by sea to Truxillo, for which purpose he had sufficient shipping, and to march all who were able to carry arms by land, taking along with him all the European inhabitants of every settlement in the plain between Lima and Truxillo; and sending off all the Indian population of the plain to the mountainous region. By these decisive measures, he hoped to reduce the adherents of Gonzalo Pizarro to such straits, by depriving them of every possible succour and refreshment, after the fatigues of a long and painful march, encumbered with baggage and artillery, as might constrain them to dis-

band

band their army, when they might find the whole way between Lima and Truxillo reduced to a desert entirely devoid of provisions. The viceroy considered himself under the necessity of employing these strong measures, as some of his people deserted from him almost daily to the enemy, in proportion as the insurgents approached towards Lima.

In pursuance of this resolution, on Tuesday the 15th of September, two days after the slaughter of the commissary Suarez, the viceroy gave orders to Diego Alvarez de Cueto, with a party of horse, to convey the children of the late Marquis Pizarro on board ship, and to remain in charge of them and the licentiate Vaca de Castro. On this occasion, he gave the command of the fleet to Cueto, being afraid lest Don Antonio de Ribera and his wife, who then had the charge of young Don Gonzalo and his brothers, children of the late marquis, might conceal them and give them up to their uncle. This measure occasioned much emotion among the inhabitants of Lima, and gave great offence to the oydors or judges of the royal audience, particularly to the licentiate Ortiz de Zarate, who made strong remonstrances to the viceroy against sending Donna Francisco Pizarro among the sailors and soldiers, where she could not reside in decent comfort. This young lady, who was both beautiful and rich, was now almost grown a woman, and the conduct of the viceroy towards her on this occasion was considered as harsh, tyrannical, and unnecessary. Ortiz was unable to prevail on the viceroy to recal his orders respecting the children of the late marquis; and he even openly declared that he had come to the resolution of abandoning Lima in the way already mentioned. All the oydors considered these intended steps as highly improper and ruinous to the colony; and declared, that as they had been ordered by his majesty to take up their residence in Lima, they were determined not to quit that place without a new royal order for the express purpose. As the viceroy found that every thing he could say was quite ineffectual to bring over the oydors to his sentiments, he resolved to gain possession of the *royal seal*, and to carry it off with himself to Truxillo, by which measure the oydors would be reduced to the state of private persons in Lima, and unable to hold any sitting of the royal audience, unless they chose to accompany him to Truxillo. When this resolution of the viceroy was communicated to the oydors, they called the chancellor before them, from whom they took the seal, which they committed

committed to the custody of the licentiate Cepeda, the senior oydor. This was done by three of the oydors, Cepeda, Texada, and Alvarez, Ortiz being absent at the time.

On the same evening, all the four oydors assembled in the house of Cepeda, and agreed to present a formal requisition to the viceroy to bring back the family of the late marquis from the fleet in which he had embarked them. After this resolution had been eugrossed in the register, the licentiate Ortiz retired to his own house, being indisposed. The other three oydors continued in consultation on the measures which were proper to be adopted, for defending themselves against the power of the viceroy, in case he should persist in his plans, and endeavour to make them embark by force, which they publickly asserted was his intention. On this occasion, they drew up an ordinance or public act, by which, in the name and authority of the king "they commanded all the inhabitants of the city of Lima, captains, soldiers, and others, civil and military, in case the viceroy should give orders to remove them, the oydors of the royal audience, by force and violence from Lima, that they should aid, assist, and defend them, in opposition to such a measure, as illegal and unjust, and contrary to the orders of his majesty, clearly expressed in the new regulations, and in the commission granted to them as oydors of the royal audience."

Having formally extended and authenticated this *act*, they communicated it in secret to Captain Martin de Robles, whom they desired to hold himself and his soldiers in readiness to defend them in case of need. De Robles engaged to stand by them; for though one of the captains in the troops, he was not on good terms with the viceroy. Several other persons of importance in the city, to whom the oydors communicated the resolutions which they had formed, promised likewise to stand by them against the tyranny of the viceroy. That same evening, all who were in concert with the oydors held themselves in readiness, anxiously waiting the event of an open breach between the viceroy and the judges of the royal audience. However secret the steps taken by the oydors might have been, they became known to the viceroy, or at least he entertained violent suspicions of their nature and tendency. At night-fall, Martin de Robles went privately to the house of the oydor Cepeda, to whom he communicated his opinion that the viceroy was already informed of all their proceedings, and that, unless prompt measures were taken for

their

their security, they would all be put to death. Cepeda sent immediately for Alvarez and Texada, two others of the oydors; and these three came immediately to the determination of openly defending themselves against the viceroy, if he should attempt their arrest. For this purpose, several of their friends, and some of the soldiers of the company commanded by De Robles, assembled in arms at their residence. While this was going on, Urbina the maestre de campo or major-general, when going his rounds met several of these soldiers in the street, and immediately suspected the truth. He went, therefore, straight to the viceroy, to whom he communicated the suspicious circumstances he had observed, that some prompt measures might be concerted for counteracting the machinations of the oydors. The viceroy desired him to fear nothing, as they had only civilians to deal with, who had not sufficient courage to concert any enterprize against his authority. Urbina went away accordingly to continue his round; but as he still continued to meet several armed horsemen in the streets, all of whom were going towards the house of Cepeda, he returned again to the palace, and remonstrated with the viceroy on the absolute necessity of taking instant measures of defence. The viceroy immediately put on his armour and ordered to sound an alarm, after which he went out into the great square before the palace, accompanied by his nightly guard of a hundred soldiers and all his domestic establishment, meaning to have proceeded to the house of Cepeda, to arrest the oydors, to chastise the mutineers, and to re-establish order in the city. While in the great square near the gate of the palace, he noticed that it was impossible to prevent the soldiers from going to join the oydors, as the horsemen who filled all the streets constrained them to take that direction. If, however, the viceroy had persisted in his first design, he could hardly have found much difficulty or considerable resistance, as he then had a greatly superior force to what had assembled with Cepeda and the other judges. He was disuaded from executing these intentions by Alfonzo Palomino, alcalde or police-judge of Lima, who asserted that a great majority of the troops were assembled at the house of Cepeda, and were about to attack him; for which reason, the best measure was to fortify himself in the palace, which could easily be defended; whereas he had not a sufficient force to assail the oydors and their adherents. Influenced by this advice, the viceroy retired into the palace, accompanied by his brother

Vela

Vela Nunnez, Paul de Meneses, Jerom de la Cerna, Alfonso de Caceres, Diego de Urbina, and others of his friends and followers, with all his relations and servants. The hundred soldiers of the nightly guard were posted at the great gate of the palace, with orders to prevent any one from going in.

While these vacillatory measures were going on at the viceregal palace, information was brought to the oydors, that the viceroy had drawn out his troops in the great square, with the intention of attacking them. Having as yet collected only a small force for their protection, they resolved to go out into the street; believing, if the viceroy should come to blockade them, and should occupy the streets leading to the house of Cepeda, that all those who were disposed to aid them would be intercepted. They advanced therefore by the streets which led towards the great square, and were soon joined by others of their adherents, to the number of about two hundred men. To justify their conduct on this occasion, they caused the act which they had drawn up to be publickly read; but so great was the noise and confusion, that very few of those present were able to hear its tenor. On the arrival of the judges and their partizans in the great square, day began to dawn. At this time, the troops attached to the viceroy fired a few musket-shots from the corridore of the palace, and began to extend themselves in front of the main gate. The soldiers who accompanied the oydors were much displeased at this procedure, and proposed to assault the palace, and to slay all that resisted them; but the oydors restrained and appeased them. The oydors then deputed Gaspard de Carvajal, the superior of the Dominicans, and Antonio de Robles, to inform the viceroy, that their only demand from him was an assurance that they should not be compelled to embark against their will and contrary to the express orders of his majesty, which fixed their residence at Lima. They farther required, that, without proceeding to hostilities, the viceroy should come to the great church, where they proposed going to meet him, and where all their differences might be amicably settled; as otherwise he would put both himself and all who were with him in extreme danger. While these envoys were in the palace in the execution of their commission, the hundred soldiers who formed the guard of the viceroy went over in a body to the oydors; by which, as the entrance to the palace was left entirely unguarded, several of the malecontents got admission to the chambers belonging to the officers of the vice-

roy

roy in the outer court, which they pillaged. At this time, the licentiate Ortiz de Zarate went from his house towards the palace, meaning to have joined the viceroy; but meeting the other oydors on his way, and seeing that it was impossible for him to prosecute his original design, he accompanied them to the church.

When the viceroy received the message of the oydors from Carvajal and Antonio de Robles, considering at the same time that his palace was already in possession of the insurgents, and that his own troops had abandoned him, he determined to proceed to the church, and to give himself up to the oydors who there waited for him. They carried him directly, in his coat of mail and cuirass, to the house of Cepeda; where, seeing Ortiz along with the other judges, he exclaimed: "Is it possible that you, in whom I had so much confidence as one of my best friends, have joined with the rest in making me a prisoner." To this the licentiate replied, "Whoever has told you so spoke falsely, as it is known to every one who those are that have caused you to be arrested, and that I have no share in the matter." The three other judges gave immediate orders to convey the viceroy on board ship, that he might be sent to Spain; justly fearing, if Gonzalo Pizarro should find him in custody on his arrival at Lima, that he would put him to death, or that the relations and friends of the commissary Suarez might kill him in revenge for the murder of that officer; as in either of which cases the blame might be imputed to them, the judges were much embarrassed how best to act in this delicate emergency, considering that if they merely sent the viceroy on board the fleet which lay at anchor off the harbour of Calao, he might be soon in condition to return in force against them. In this dilemma, they appointed Cepeda, one of their number, to act as captain-general of the colony; who, with a strong guard, conducted the deposed viceroy to the sea side on purpose to put him on board one of the ships. They found some difficulty in executing this measure, as Diego Alvarez de Cueto, who commanded the fleet, on seeing the assemblage of people on the shore, and learning that they had the viceroy among them as a prisoner, sent Jerom de Zurbano, one of his captains in an armed boat to collect all the boats of the fleet, with which accompaniment he approached the shore and demanded the liberation of the viceroy from the judges. This measure was altogether ineffectual, as the judges refused to

listen

listen to the demands of Cueto; who, after exchanging a few shots with those on shore, went back to his ships.

After this, the judges sent off a message to Cueto, by means of Friar Gaspard de Carvajal, in which the deposed viceroy concurred, ordering him to surrender the command of the fleet, and to give up the children of the late marquis, in return for which they would place the viceroy under his charge, who would otherwise be in great peril of his life. On getting aboard ship, Friar Gaspard presented his commission to Cueto and gave him a full account of the state of affairs, in presence of the licentiate Vaca de Castro, who still remained a prisoner in that vessel. In consideration of the danger to which the viceroy was exposed, Cueto sent the children of the marquis on shore together with Don Antonio de Ribera and his wife who had the care of them. The judges still insisted that Cueto should surrender the fleet to their command, threatening to behead the viceroy if he refused; and though Vela Nunnez, brother to the viceroy, went several times with messages to induce compliance, the captains of the ships would not consent to that measure, so that the judges were constrained to return to Lima with the viceroy still in custody.

Two days afterwards, the commanders of the ships were informed that the judges and their partizans had come to the resolution of sending a strong force of musqueteers in boats to make themselves masters of the ships by force. They might perhaps have easily persuaded Cueto to give up the fleet, of which in reality Jerom de Zurbano had more the command than he, as all the soldiers and sailors who were attached to the deposed viceroy were at his disposal; but Zurbano, to whom the judges made great offers, was quite inflexible. The captains of the fleet came even to the resolution of quitting the port of Lima, to cruise upon the coast of Peru, till such time as they might receive orders from his majesty how to conduct themselves in the present crisis. They believed that the viceroy had many friends and adherents in Lima and other parts of Peru; as many persons who had not taken any share in the deposition and imprisonment of the viceroy, and several of those who were best disposed to the royal service continued almost daily to make their escape on board the fleet. The ships were tolerably well armed and appointed, having ten or twelve iron cannon, and three or four of brass, besides forty quintals of powder. As to provisions, they had above four

hundred

hundred quintals of biscuit, five hundred bags of maize, and a large store of salt meat; so that they were victualled sufficiently for a considerable time, and they could easily procure water on any part of the coast. Their force however was very small, as they had only twenty five soldiers, and by no means a sufficient number of mariners for the ten ships which composed their fleet. They resolved therefore to abandon four of the smallest vessels, which they were unable to man; and not thinking it right to leave these behind, lest they might have been employed against themselves by the partizans of the judges, they set these small vessels on fire the day after the imprisonment of the viceroy, as likewise two fishing barks which were in the harbour, and then set sail. The four small ships were entirely destroyed, but the two fishing vessels were saved after sustaining very little damage.

The fleet went into the harbour of Guavra, which is eighteen leagues *below* [3] the port of Lima, where they took in a supply of wood and water. They carried the licentiate Vaca de Castro along with them, and resolved to wait at Guavra to see what consequences might follow from the imprisonment of the viceroy. When this came to the knowledge of the judges, who believed the ships might not go to any considerable distance from Guavra, on account of the attachment of their commanders to the viceroy whose life was in danger, they determined to send a force both by sea and land to attempt acquiring possession of the ships almost at any risk. For this purpose, they gave orders to Diego Garcias de Alfaro, an inhabitant of Lima who was versant in maritime affairs, to repair and fit out the two barks which had drifted on shore. When that was done, Alfaro embarked in them with thirty musqueteers, and set sail towards Guavra. At the same time, Don Juan de Mendoza and Ventura Beltran, [4] were sent off by land with a party of soldiers in the same direction. On coming to Guavra in the night, Garcias de Alfaro concealed

3 The expression in the text *below,* is probably an error in the French translator in rendering *barlovento* which signifies to leeward. Accordingly, to the north of Lima, and about the indicated distance, there is a sea-port or coast town named Huaura, certainly the place meant by Zarate. *Hua* and *Gua* are often inchanged by the Spaniards in the names of places in America, probably from the *g* having a guttural sound, or strong aspiration.—E.

4 Garcilasso names this person Ventura Veltran.—E.

cealed his two barks behind a light house [5], in the harbour very near the ships, where he could not be seen. At the same time, the party which went by land began to fire off their muskets, and the people in the ships believed they were some friends of the viceroy who wished to embark. Vela Nnnnez was sent accordingly in a boat to the shore, to learn what was meant by the firing, on which Diego Garcias pushed on his barks between Vela Nunnez and the ships, firing upon him and obliged him to surrender. Intelligence of this event was immediately sent to Cueto, with a message assuring him that both the viceroy and his brother would be immediately put to death unless he surrendered his ships to the judges. Cueto [6] accordingly submitted, being afraid lest the threat might be executed; but had certainly not been allowed to do so if Zurbano had been present, who had sailed from Guavra with his ships, two days before the arrival of Diego Garcias, with the intention of going all along the coast between Lima and Tierra Firma to take possession of every ship he might fall in with, to prevent them from being employed by the oydors.

Immediately after the departure of the fleet under Cueto from the port of Lima, the judges became apprehensive lest the relations of the commissary might put the viceroy to death, which they actually threatened; on which account they came to a resolution to transport him to an island about two leagues from the coast. For this purpose he was embarked along with a guard of twenty men in one of those barks or floats made of dried reeds which the Indians call *henea*. When the judges learnt the surrender of the fleet under Cueto, they determined upon sending him as a prisoner to Spain, with a formal memorial of all that had passed, and deputed the licenciate Alvarez, one of their number to take charge of him thither, and to support their memorial at the court of Spain, giving him 8000 crowns to defray the expences of the voyage. For this purpose all the necessary dispatches were prepared, which were signed by all the judges of the royal audience, excepting Ortiz de Zarate, who refused his concurrence. Alvarez went by land to Guavra, to which place the viceroy was

 transported

5 In Garcilasso de la Vega, obviously copying this part of the story from Zarate, Garcias is said to have concealed his barks behind a rock.—E.

6 This person is always named Cuero, by Garcilasso; who likewise informs us that he was brother-in-law to the viceroy.—E.

transported in one of the barks fitted out by Diego Garcias, and given into the custody of Alvarez, who immediately set sail with three ships that had been placed at his disposal, without waiting even for the dispatches from his brother judges. At this time, Vaca de Castro was carried back to the port of Lima, still a prisoner.

Section IV.

History of the usurpation of Gonzalo Pizarro, from the expulsion of the Viceroy to his defeat and death.

While the viceroy remained in the small island, as formerly mentioned, Alfonso de Montemayor and those who had gone along with him to succour Loyasa and Zavallos, returned to Lima, upon which the judges caused them to be arrested and disarmed, ordering them, and several of the captains who were attached to the viceroy, to be detained as prisoners in the house of Martin de Robles, and in the houses of several of the citizens of Lima. These prisoners were persuaded, if the viceroy could regain his liberty, that he would still be able to prevent the arrival of Gonzalo Pizarro at Lima, and to avert the disorders and evils which must flow from his successful usurpation, prejudicial to the rights of the crown and the interest of the colony. With this view, therefore, they concerted to unite together under arms, to bring back the viceroy from the place of his confinement, and to reinstate him in his authority; resolving in the execution of this project, to make the judges prisoners, or even to kill them if necessary, and to take possession of the city in the name of his majesty. They had assuredly executed their project, had they not been betrayed by a soldier, who discovered the whole plot to Cepeda. Immediately on receiving notice of this conspiracy, Cepeda in concert with the other judges apprehended all the leaders, namely Alfonso de Montemayor, Paolo de Meneses, Alfonso de Caceres, Alfonso de Barrionuevo, and some others. Several of these when put to the torture, had sufficient resolution to refuse confession; but Barrionuevo confessed partly, in hopes of satisfying the judges, and that they might not continue his torments. Upon his confession, he was at first condemned to lose his head; but in the sequel the judges satisfied themselves with causing his right

right hand to be cut off; and all the other leaders of the conspiracy, who persisted in refusing to confess, were banished from Peru.

After all these revolutionary events, information of every thing that had occurred in Lima, was transmitted to Gonzalo Pizarro, the judges and their friends being in hopes that he would now be induced to dismiss his army. They were however quite mistaken in this expectation; for he believed that every thing, even the imprisonment of the viceroy, was a false rumour, or a mere concerted trick to force him to lay down his arms, and that they would put him to death when left without support.

In the mean time the licentiate Alvarez, as already mentioned, set sail from Guavra having charge of the viceroy and his brothers. Notwithstanding that this judge had been the chief promoter of every thing that had been done against the viceroy, having even especially contributed to make him a prisoner, and been most active in punishing those who had conspired to restore him to the government; yet, on the very first day of the voyage, he went into the cabin which had been appointed for the captive viceroy, declaring his repentance for all that he had done against him, and his earnest desire for a reconcilement. He assured him, that, in accepting the charge of his conveyance as a prisoner, he had been entirely actuated by the desire of serving him, that he might get him from under the power of Cepeda, and prevent him from falling into the hands of Gonzalo Pizarro, who was expected to arrive shortly at Lima. To satisfy the viceroy of his sincerity, Alvarez assured him that he was from that moment at full and perfect liberty, and that he now surrendered the command of the vessel into his hands; humbly beseeching him to forgive all that was passed, and declaring himself ready to obey his commands in all things. Alvarez then gave orders to the ten men who had been given him as guards over the viceroy, that they were now to obey the viceroy and not him. The viceroy expressed his entire satisfaction at this conduct in Alvarez, and took the command accordingly; yet in a very short time he treated Alvarez very ill, often calling him villain, traitor, mutineer, and other opprobrious names, and threatening that, though he spared his life for the present because he had occasion for his service, he would certainly have him hanged in the sequel.

Yet

Yet they continued together till their arrival at Truxillo, as shall be related in the sequel.

It was soon suspected at Lima that Alvarez had entered into terms with the viceroy, from certain circumstances which had transpired before he embarked, but more especially from his having set sail without waiting for the dispatches of the royal court of audience, which had been delayed a day in waiting for the consent of Ortiz. While they were still in some degree of uncertainty on this subject, and waiting anxiously to know the whole truth, they judged proper to send a representation on the state of affairs to Gonzalo Pizarro, of which the following was the tenor. "That, in consequence of their commissions, and of the express powers confided to them by his majesty of doing every thing which might be necessary for the due administration of justice, and to place the country in good order, they had suspended the execution of the obnoxious regulations, as demanded by the colonists, and had even sent off the viceroy to Spain, which was more than had been required or could have been reasonably asked. As, therefore, there now remained no call or pretence for the military preparations which he had set on foot, they commanded him immediately to dismiss his troops: But, if he were inclined to come to Lima, he must come there as a man of peace, without warlike array; yet, if he considered it necessary to his safety to have an escort, they granted him permission to bring fifteen or twenty horsemen along with him."

When these orders were prepared, the judges were desirous of sending some of the inhabitants of Lima to carry them to Gonzalo Pizarro; but no one would undertake the commission, which they considered as extremely hazardous. They represented to the judges, that Gonzalo and his officers would reproach them for opposing the just measures in which they were engaged; as they had associated for the general interest of the colony. On this refusal of the inhabitants, the judges gave orders to Augustino, the royal treasurer of Peru[7], and Don Antonio de Ribera, one of the citizens of Lima,

7 The author of the History of the Discovery and Conquest of Peru, which forms the subject of the present article; who accordingly, might justly say of these events, *quorum pars magna fui.* His associate on this occasion was the person who had charge of the family of the late marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and had married the widow of Francisco Martin de Alcantara, as we learn from Garcilasso.—E.

Lima, to carry this order to Gonzalo. To these messengers they gave formal letters of credence, with which they set out upon their journey for the valleyof Jauja, in which Gonzalo Pizarro was then encamped with his army. Gonzalo had already received notice of this intended embassy; and was afraid, if the envoys should give a public notification of the message with which they were entrusted, that his troops might mutiny; as he knew they were exceedingly desirous of marching to Lima in full force, that they might be in condition to pillage that city on the first pretext that offered. To prevent this, he sent Jerom de Villegas with thirty mounted musqueteers to intercept the two messengers now on their way to the army. According to his instructions, Villegas allowed Ribera to continue his journey to the camp; but made Augustino de Zarate a prisoner, and deprived him of his dispatches. Zarate was carried back by Villegas to the province of Pariacaca [8], where he was detained a prisoner for ten days, and every means were employed to intimidate him that he might not execute the commission with which he was entrusted.

At the end of that period Gonzalo Pizarro arrived with his army at Pariacaca, and called Zarate into his presence to give an account of the subject of his mission. Zarate had been already made to understand that his life would be in danger if he attempted to execute the orders he had received literally: For which reason, after having explained the whole distinctly to Gonzalo in private, on being taken into the tent where all the insurgent captains were assembled, he proceeded, as instructed by Gonzalo, to discharge his commission with prudent reserve. Gonzalo desired him to repeat all that he had already communicated to him, but Zarate, understanding distinctly what was expected of him by Gonzalo, in addressing the assembled officers in the name of the judges of the royal audience, used considerable address, and availed himself of the full powers contained in his credentials. He

8 No such province is now to be found in the best maps of Peru; but seventy or eighty miles to the north of Jauja, there is a district called the valley of Pari, with a town of the same name on the *Chinchay Cocha,* or lake of Chinchay, which may then have been called Pari-cocha, or Pari on the lake. From this circumstance, it appears the messengers had been obliged to make a great circuit towards the north, on purpose to get a passage across the main western ridge of the Andes.—E.

He was silent therefore regarding the dismissal of the troops, which was the point of delicacy, and confined himself to such other matters as seemed proper for the service of his majesty and the good of the colony. In this view, he represented to them, "that, since the viceroy was deported, and their demand for suspending the obnoxious ordinances was granted, it seemed just that they should repay the sums which Blasco Nunnez Vela had taken from the royal treasury, as they had promised. That they should forgive those inhabitants of Cuzco who had deserted from their camp to join the late viceroy, since it could not be denied that these men had substantial reasons for what they had done; and that they ought to send a humble deputation to his majesty, to excuse and exculpate themselves from the measures in which they had been engaged." Zarate added several things of a similar nature; to all of which the only answer given by the council of officers, which he was directed to carry back to the judges was, "that it was indispensably necessary for the well being of the colony, that they should appoint Gonzalo Pizarro governor of Peru. After which every thing that was required should be done: But if this were refused, the military council was determined to give up Lima to be plundered by the soldiers."

Zarate would willingly have excused himself from bearing this answer; but as no other could be procured, he was obliged to return to Lima, where he reported it to the judges, to whom it gave much uneasiness and dissatisfaction. Gonzalo Pizarro had not hitherto carried his pretensions so high, having only insisted for the departure of the viceroy from Peru, and the suspension of the obnoxious regulations, and the judges were much at a loss how to conduct themselves under this new and unexpected demand. After mature deliberation, they sent to inform the insurgent officers, "that they were unable to grant their demand, or even to take it into consideration, unless some person should appear before them authorised to present the request according to the accustomed forms." Upon this message, all the procurators or deputies of the cities who were in the insurgent army repaired to Lima; where, in conjunction with such other deputies of the cities as were resident in that place, they presented a formal request in writing, demanding the same thing which had been formerly done by a verbal message. The auditors, considering this affair as exceedingly delicate, and that they neither

neither had any right to grant what was now demanded, nor sufficient power to refuse it, as Gonzalo was now very near Lima which he held strictly blockaded; they resolved to submit the whole to the consideration of the principal persons of the city, that they might receive their sentiments and advice in the present crisis. For this purpose, they drew up a formal instrument of the whole matter, which was communicated to Don Jerom de Loyasa archishop of Lima, Don Juan Solano archbishop of Cuzco, Don Garcia Diaz bishop of Quito, Fray Thomas de San Martino provincial of the Dominicans, Augustino de Zarate the treasurer, and to the royal accountant and controller general [9]. This extraordinary council was desired to consider maturely the demands of the deputies, and to give their opinion freely on what was proper to be done in consequence. In this instrument, the judges explained at full length the reasons which induced them to require advice on this important subject, openly avowing that this measure was not resorted to in the view of following what the council might judge best, since neither the judges nor the council had any power in the present situation of affairs to act otherwise than as prescribed by Gonzalo Pizarro and his officers; but that the judges had called in this manner on the members of this extraordinary council, as recorded witnesses of the constraint and oppression under which they all now acted.

While these deliberations were going on in Lima, Gonzalo Pizarro drew nigh with his army and encamped about a quarter of a league from the city, drawing up his numerous train of artillery in readiness for service. As a whole day elapsed without the formal appointment as governor being transmitted to him, he became impatient; and dispatched thirty musqueteers into the city under the command of his lieutenant-general, who made prisoners of twenty-eight persons, among whom were those who had formerly deserted him at Cuzco, and others who were most obnoxious for having taken part with the viceroy. Among these were Gabriel de Roias, Garcilasso de la Vega, Melchior Verdugo, the licentiate Carvajal, Pedro de Barco, Martin de Florencia, Alfonso de Caceres, Pedro de Manjares, Luis de Leon, Antonio

9 By Garcilasso, Zarate is represented as holding all the three offices. Treasurer, accountant, and controller.—E.

Antonio Ruys de Guevara, and some others of highest consideration in the colony. These were committed to the common prison, of which the lieutenant-general took possession, taking away the keys from the alcalde or keeper. The judges were utterly unable to make the smallest opposition to this strong measure, and dared not even to express their disapprobation, as there did not now remain fifty soldiers in the city; all those who had been formerly attached to them or to the viceroy having gone over to the camp of Gonzalo, who had now a force of twelve hundred men completely armed, including his original troops and those who deserted to him on this occasion.

Next morning, several of the insurgent officers came into the city, and required the judges to make out the commission for Gonzalo, and to proclaim him governor-general of Peru without delay, otherways threatening to give up the city to plunder, and to massacre the inhabitants, in which case they would begin by putting the judges to death. The judges endeavoured to excuse themselves, alleging that they had neither right nor authority to do what was desired. Whereupon Carvajal, the lieutenant-general under Pizarro, caused four of his prisoners to be brought from the prison, and ordered three of them to be hanged on a tree near the city. These unfortunate men were Pedro de Barco, Martin de Florencia, and Juan de Saavedra. Carvajal only allowed them a short half hour to confess their sins and to prepare for death, adding insult and mockery to his cruelty. He particularly indulged in raillery against Pedro de Barco, who was last executed; saying, as he was a brave commander who had made several conquests, and was one of the most considerable and richest men in Peru, he was inclined to allow him some distinction in his death, and that he therefore granted him the high and honourable privilege of choosing which branch of the tree he preferred for being hanged upon. Luis de Leon escaped at the intercession of his brother who served under Gonzalo.

On seeing these arbitrary proceedings, and being threatened by Carvajal with a similar treatment of all the other prisoners, and that the city should be given up to pillage if they did not execute the required commission without delay, the judges sent to the members of the extraordinary council formerly mentioned, desiring them to give their undisguised sentiments

sentiments upon what was proper to be done. They accordingly agreed unanimously that it was necessary to comply with the demands of Gonzalo; and the judges immediately made out a commission appointing Gonzalo Pizarro governor-general of Peru, until his majesty might give orders to the contrary, and without prejudice to the rights and authority of the royal audience, to which Gonzalo was required to make oath that he would renounce his authority whenever it might please his majesty or the audience to demand it from him, and likewise engaging to submit to their authority in the event of any complaints against him, either as an individual, or in the execution of his high office.

On receiving his commission, Gonzalo Pizarro made his public entry into Lima, with all his troops in martial order. Captain Bachicao marched at the head of the vanguard with the artillery, consisting of twenty field pieces, which with all their ammunition, carriages, and other equipments, were carried on the shoulders of six thousand Indians, who completely filled all the streets through which they had to pass. The artillery was accompanied by a guard of thirty musqueteers and fifty cannoneers. The company of two hundred pikemen commanded by Diego de Gumiel followed next. Then two companies of musqueteers, commanded by the Captains Guevara and Pedro Cermeno, the former consisting of 150, and the latter of 200 men. After these followed three companies of infantry who preceded Gonzalo Pizarro as his body guards, who followed on horseback in his coat of mail, over which he wore a robe of cloth of gold. He was followed by three captains of cavalry: Don Pedro de Porto Carrero in the middle carrying the royal standard belonging to his troop, having Antonio de Altamirano on his right with the standard of Cuzco, and Pedro de Puelles on his left with a standard of the arms of Gonzalo Pizarro. The whole cavalry of the army brought up the rear in regular order. In this array, the whole column of march moved towards the house of the oydor Ortiz de Zarate, where the other judges were assembled. Ortiz had feigned sickness, on purpose to avoid attending the royal court of audience at the reception of Gonzalo, but his brethren adjourned the sitting to his house on the occasion.

Leaving his cavalry drawn up in the great square, Gonzalo made his appearance before the assembled judges, who received

ceived him in form, and administered to him the oath as governor. From thence he proceeded to the town house, where all the magistrates of the city were assembled, and where he was received with all the usual solemnities. Having gone through all the ceremonies, he retired to his own house, and the lieutenant-general Carvajal dismissed the army to its quarters upon the citizens, who were ordered to entertain them at free quarters. Gonzalo Pizarro continued to reside in Lima, exercising his authority as governor in all things pertaining to military affairs, without interfering in the administration of justice, which he confided entirely to the oydors, who held their sittings for that purpose in the house of the treasurer Alfonso Riquelme. Immediately after assuming the office of governor, Gonzalo sent Alfonso de Toro as his lieutenant to Cuzco, Pedro de Fuentes to Arequipa, Francisco de Almendras to La Plata, and others in the same quality to the other cities of Peru[10].

As in the sequel of this history we shall have much to say respecting Gonzalo Pizarro and his lieutenant-general Francisco de Carvajal, it may be proper in this place to give a short account of the age, qualities, and characters of these two men. At this period, Gonzalo Pizarro was about forty years of age, large made and tall, well proportioned, of a dark brown complexion, with a long black beard. He was well versant in military affairs and took great delight in war, of which he endured the labours and privations with much patient fortitude. He was an excellent horseman; and though his genius was rather confined, and his language vulgar, he could express his sentiments with sufficient clearness. He was exceedingly remiss in keeping his secrets to himself, by which weakness he often suffered much prejudice in his affairs and military transactions. He was rather avaricious, and disliked much to give away money; owing to which want of liberality his affairs frequently suffered material injury. He was exceedingly amorous, not confining himself like his brother the marquis to the native women, but gave much offence by his intrigues among the Spanish ladies in Peru.

Francisco de Carvajal was a man of low descent, the son of a

10 According to Garcilasso, the entry of Gonzalo Pizarro into Lima was in October 1544, forty days after the deposition and imprisonment of the viceroy. In the History of America, II. 375, this event is dated on the 28th October.—E,

a person employed in collecting the tax on salt, and was born in the village of Ragama near Arevala. He had served long in the wars of Italy under Count Pedro de Navarre, having been in the battle of Pavia, where the king of France was taken prisoner. On his return to Spain he was accompanied by a lady of a good family, Donna Catalina de Leyton, to whom he was said to be married; though most people believed otherwise, and some even alleged she had been a nun. After his return to Spain, he lived for some time at the commandry of Heliche, in the capacity of a steward; and went afterwards into New Spain with the lady who passed for his wife. He was for some time employed in Mexico, where he held some office; whence he was sent by the viceroy of that kingdom to Peru, along with reinforcements to the marquis Pizarro, at the time when the Indians revolted, as formerly related. On this occasion, the marquis gave him some lands and Indians at Cuzco, where he resided till the arrival of the viceroy; when he was about to have returned into Spain with a considerable sum which he had amassed from the Indians of his repartimiento; but not being able to procure an opportunity, he had remained in the country. When Gonzalo Pizarro assumed the government of Peru, Carvajal was said to be eighty years of age. He was of the middle stature, but very gross, full-faced, and high-complexioned. He was skilled in warlike affairs, having had long experience, and was able to undergo fatigue infinitely better than could have been expected at his advanced age. He hardly ever quitted his armour, either by day or night; and scarcely ever slept, except on a chair, leaning his head on his hand. He was so much addicted to wine, that when he could not procure such as was brought from Spain, he used to content himself with the strong liquors made by the Indians, of which he drank more freely than any other Spaniard. His disposition was addicted to cruelty, insomuch that he frequently put people to death upon very slight grounds, sometimes even without any reason at all, except merely under pretence of keeping up proper military discipline. Even when ordering any unfortunate persons to condign punishment, he was wont to crack his jokes, and to pay them ironical compliments. He was a bad Christian, and much addicted to impiety, as was manifest in all his words and actions; and was prodigiously avaricious in the acquisition of money, for which purpose he pillaged many of their wealth, by threatening to put them to death,

and then letting them free for a good round sum. He ended his days in a miserable manner, with small hope of salvation, as will appear in the sequel.

To return to the incidents of our history: Our readers may recollect that Luis de Ribera, lieutenant governor in La Plata, and Antonio Alvares alcalde or judge ordinary of that city, with most of its inhabitants, had taken the field with the purpose of joining the viceroy. After journeying a long way in the deserts without receiving any intelligence of the events which were passing at Lima, they at length learnt that the viceroy was deposed and that Gonzalo Pizarro had usurped the government of Peru. As Ribera and Alvarez were the chief leaders and instigators of the citizens of La Plata, they did not dare to return to that city in the present situation of affairs, and took therefore the resolution of seeking refuge among the Indians in the inaccessible mountains. Some of their associates, however, ventured to return to their city, while others went to Lima, where they obtained pardon from Gonzalo; but he forfeited their lands and Indians, and sent Francisco de Almendras to take possession of their repartimientos in his name, as funds for reimbursing the expences of the war.

We must now advert to the deposed viceroy. After he had been set at liberty by the oydor Alvarez, as has been already related, and the two other vessels which carried his brother, friends, and servants, had likewise submitted to his authority, he continued his voyage with all the three ships to the port of Tumbez, where he and Alvarez landed, leaving proper persons to take charge of the ships. Immediately on landing, the viceroy and oydor began to exercise their respective authorities, by constituting a royal audience, and proclamations were dispersed through every part of the country, giving an account of the illegal deposition and imprisonment of the viceroy and the usurpation of Gonzalo, and commanding all faithful subjects of his majesty to join the standard of the viceroy. He issued these orders to the cities of Quito, San Miguel, Puerto Viejo, and Truxillo; and commissioned captains to go to different places to raise troops; sending, among others, Jerom de Pereira on this errand into the province of Bracamoras. In consequence of these proceedings, many persons came to Tumbez to join his standard. He applied himself likewise to collect provisions and ammunition, strengthening his party as much as possible; and issued orders

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to transmit to him all the money which was contained in the royal coffers, which was obeyed in many places. Some of the inhabitants however, fled into the mountains, being unwilling to attach themselves to either of the parties which now divided the unhappy colony, while others went to join Gonzalo Pizarro. Intelligence was soon carried to Gonzalo of the arrival of the viceroy at Tumbez, and of his preparations for recovering his authority, and some even of the proclamations and orders of the viceroy were brought to him at Lima. Gonzalo was by no means negligent in endeavouring to counteract the proceedings of the viceroy; for which purpose he sent orders to Ferdinand de Alvarado, his lieutenant at Truxillo, and the captains Gonzalo Diaz and Jerom Villegas, to collect as many soldiers as possible in that part of the country, lest they might have gone to Tumbez to join the party of the viceroy. He commanded these officers to give every possible interruption to the preparations of the viceroy, yet ordered them on no account to risk coming to a battle with the royalists, however powerful and numerous they might conceive their troops to be in comparison with those of the viceroy.

It had been long proposed to send a deputation from Gonzalo and the communities of Peru into Spain, to lay an account before his majesty of all that had occurred in the colony; and many of the principal insurgents insisted on the necessity of this measure, to justify their conduct. Others again, among whom the principal persons were the lieutenant-general Carvajal and Captain Bachicao, were of an opposite opinion; insisting that it were better to wait till his majesty might think proper to send out persons to inquire into the cause of his revenues being detained. They alleged that the viceroy must have already fully informed his majesty upon all the late transactions, and would doubtless be listened to in preference to any thing which they could say in defence of their conduct. On this account, the leaders of the insurgents regretted that they had not at the first sent over the judges of the royal audience into Spain, to give an account of their reasons for having made the viceroy a prisoner: And, after many deliberations on this subject, it was at length determined to send home the Doctor Texada, one of the oydors, in the name of the royal audience, to lay an account of the whole before the king. It was at the same time resolved, that Francisco Maldonado, who was master of the household of Gonzalo

Gonzalo Pizarro, should accompany Texada, carrying justificatory letters from his master; but without any title, credence, or powers whatever. By these measures, two purposes were served at the same time, both of which were deemed useful: In sending a deputation to the king to justify their proceeding, those of their party who pressed that measure were satisfied; and by employing Texada on this errand, the court of royal audience was virtually broken up, as Ortiz de Zarate could not then hold sittings by himself[11]. When this proposal was communicated to Texada, he readily consented to undertake the office, on condition that he were furnished with 6000 crowns to defray the expences of his voyage. Accordingly, Cepeda and he composed all the memorials and dispatches which were deemed necessary, which were signed by these two judges only, as Ortiz refused his concurrence.

When all was in readiness for the dispatch of Texada and Maldonado, a ship which lay in the harbour of Lima was ordered to be fitted out for their reception, of which Captain Bachicao was to have taken the command, with a sufficient number of cannon, and twenty soldiers; having orders to take possession of all the ships he might fall in with along the coast. At this time, Vaca de Castro, the ex-president, who still remained a prisoner in this ship, contrived to gain over a majority of the seamen belonging to the vessel, with the assistance of his friend Garcia de Montalva who occasionally visited him. By these means he acquired the command of the vessel, which was already provided with every thing needful for the voyage, and immediately set sail. This untoward incident gave much uneasiness to Gonzalo Pizarro, both because it delayed the departure of Texada, and because he judged that it could not have happened without the concurrence of several concealed enemies to the present state of affairs. On this the troops were ordered under arms, and all the principal persons who were suspected of disaffection to the party of Pizarro were taken into custody and committed to the common prison of the city, both those who had fled from Cuzco, and those belonging to other cities who had not joined his party. One of the persons committed to prison on this occasion was the licentiate Carvajal, to whom the lieutenant-general

11 Zarate seems to forget the existence of Cepeda, one of the judges; but he seems to have entirely devoted himself to the party of the usurper, while Ortiz affected at least to retain a sense of loyalty.—E.

general Carvajal sent a message, desiring him to confess and make his will, as he was immediately to be put to death. The licentiate did accordingly what he was desired, and prepared himself to die with much firmness and resolution; yet he was urged to be more expeditious, and the executioner was present, provided with cords for tying his hands and strangling him. Every one believed the last hour of the licentiate was come; more especially as, considering his rank and quality, it was not thought possible that he could be treated in this manner merely to frighten him. It was likewise universally believed, that the execution of the licentiate would be speedily followed by that of all the other prisoners; which it was conceived would prove of material detriment to the colony, as they consisted of the very principal people of the country, and of those who had always evinced the most zealous loyalty to the service of his majesty.

While matters seemed fast tending to this extremity, several of the most judicious persons went to Gonzalo Pizarro, and requested of him to reflect that the licentiate Carvajal was one of the principal persons in the country, and that his brother had been already unjustly put to death by the viceroy, under pretence of the licentiate having joined the party of Pizarro. They urged that it was exceedingly imprudent at this time to put the licentiate to death, as that would necessarily renew the discontents which had formerly taken place on the death of his brother the commissary. They even added, that much good service might be expected from the licentiate, were it only in pursuit of revenge for the death of his brother. They insisted that neither the licentiate nor any of the other prisoners had any hand in the flight of Vaca de Castro; but that it might easily be seen that the slightest pretexts were resorted to on purpose to accuse them, who were already under suspicion as disaffected to the ruling party. Teased and fatigued by these solicitations, Gonzalo Pizarro refused to be spoken to on the subject; so that the licentiate and his friends were induced to try another expedient for his release. They conveyed to the lieutenant-general an ingot of gold weighing forty marks[12], with a promise of a much larger present if he would save the life of the licentiate. The lieutenant-general accepted

12 The weight of this is 320 ounces, which at L. 4 an ounce comes to L. 1280, and was then worth as much as L. 7680 is in efficient value. —E.

accepted their offers, delayed the execution of the licentiate, and prevailed on Gonzalo Pizarro to set him and all the other suspected persons at liberty.

After the conclusion of this business, measures were taken for the dispatch of Texada and Maldonado; and at this time there happened to arrive a brigantine from Arequipa, which was fitted out along with some other vessels, and armed with a part of the artillery which had been brought down from Cuzco. In these vessels Bachicao embarked along with the deputies, accompanied by sixty musqueteers, who were all that could be prevailed upon to undertake the voyage. They proceeded on their voyage along the coast to the northwards, and arrived one morning early at Tumbez, where they understood the viceroy then resided. Immediately on their being perceived making for the coast, the adherents of the viceroy gave the alarm and stood on their defence: But as the viceroy believed that Gonzalo Pizarro was on board in person accompanied by a formidable body of troops, he retired in all haste from Tumbez accompanied by an hundred and fifty men, taking the road for Quito. Several of his people however did not think fit to accompany his flight, and preferred giving themselves up to Bachicao, who likewise took possession of two ships which happened to be in the port of Tumbez. From thence, Bachicao went to Puerto Viejo and other places, where he drew together about an hundred and fifty men, all of whom he took along with him in the ships of his squadron. Among these were Bartholomew Perez, and Juan Delmos, respectable inhabitants of Puerto Viejo.

Continuing his voyage towards Panama, Bachicao put in at the Isle of Pearls, about twenty leagues from Panama to procure refreshments. While at that place, the inhabitants of Panama received notice of his arrival, and sent two deputies to learn his intentions, requesting at the same time that he would not come into their boundaries with his troops. Bachicao sent back word, that although he happened to be accompanied by armed men, it was merely on purpose to defend himself against the viceroy, and that he had not the most distant intention of injuring or even displeasing the inhabitants of Panama. He informed them, that he was entrusted with the transport of the Doctor Texada, one of the royal judges, who was charged with a commission from the court of audience to give an account to his majesty of the events which had occurred in Peru. He farther declared that

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he should only land in Panama to provide necessaries for his voyage back to Peru, and would reimbark without delay. Lulled into security by these assurances, the inhabitants of Panama took no measures for defence. On coming into the port, two ships which happened to be there, made sail to go away; one of which was taken possession of by one of the brigantines belonging to Bachicao, and brought back to the harbour, with the master and chief mate hanging from the yard arms. This sad spectacle gave great uneasiness to the inhabitants, who judged from this tragical event, that the purposes of Bachicao were very different from his words and promises. But it was not now time to think of defence, and they were constrained to submit, though filled with terror and dismay, leaving their lives and properties entirely at the discretion of Bachicao, who was no less cruel than the lieutenant-general Carvajal, or even more so if possible; being at the same time exceedingly addicted to cursing and blasphemy, and among all his vices not a single spark of virtue could be found to relieve the picture.

At this time Captain Juan de Gusman was in Panama raising soldiers for the service of the viceroy; but he found it advisable to retire on the arrival of Bachicao, with whom all these soldiers now inlisted. Bachicao likewise got possession of the artillery which had belonged to the vessel in which Vaca de Castro escaped from Lima. Seeing himself master of Panama, Bachicao who was a brutal passionate fellow, exercised the command there in a cruel and tyrannical manner, disposing at his will of the goods and properties of every one, violating every rule of law and justice, oppressing the liberties of the community, and holding every individual under such slavish constraint, that no one dared to act otherwise than as he pleased to dictate. Learning or suspecting that two of his captains had formed the design of putting him to death, he ordered them both to be beheaded without any form of trial; and in similar acts of injustice, and in every transaction, he used no other formality than ordering it to be intimated by the public crier, "That Captain Ferdinand Bachicao had ordained such and such to be done." He thus usurped supreme and absolute authority, paying not the smallest regard to the laws, or even to the external forms of justice.

The licentiate Vaca de Castro, who was at Panama when Bachicao arrived, fled immediately across the isthmus to

Nombre de Dios on the Atlantic, where he embarked accompanied by Diego Alvarez de Cueto and Jerom Zurbano. Doctor Texada and Francisco Maldonado escaped likewise to the same port, where they all embarked together for Spain. Texada died on the voyage while passing the Bahamas. On their arrival in Spain, Maldonado and Cueto went directly to Germany, where the emperor Don Carlos then was, where each gave an account of the business with which they were entrusted. Vaca de Castro remained for some time at Tercera in the Azores; whence he went to Lisbon, and afterwards to the court of Spain; alleging that he did not dare to go by way of Seville, on account of the influence in that place of the brothers relations and friends of Juan Tello, whom he had put to death after the defeat of the younger Almagro. On his arrival at court, De Castro was put under arrest in his own house by order of the council of the Indies. He was afterwards brought to trial on a variety of accusations, in the course of which he was kept prisoner for five years in the citadel of Arevalo. He was afterwards removed to a private house in Simanca, from which he was not permitted to go out: And in consequence of a subsequent revolution in the court of Spain, he was allowed to remain a prisoner at large in the city and territory of Valladolid, till his cause was finally adjuged[13].

On the flight of the viceroy from Tumbez with an hundred and fifty men, as before related, in consequence of the arrival of Bachicao, he retired to Quito, where he was honourably received. In this place he increased his force to two hundred men, and finding the country fertile and abounding in provisions, he determined to remain there till he might receive ulterior orders from his majesty, in reply to the informations he had transmitted by Diego Alvarez de Cueto. In the mean time he appointed strong guards to defend the passes in the mountains, and stationed spies on the different roads, that he might have early intimation of the procedure of Gonzalo Pizarro at Lima, which is three hundred leagues from Quito. About this time four soldiers belonging to Gonzalo deserted on account of some injurious treatment, and seized a small bark

13 We learn from Garcilasso, that Vaca de Castro was in the end honourably acquitted, and that in the year 1461, when Garcilasso was at Madrid, De Castro was senior member of the council of the Indies His son, Don Antonio, was made knight of St Jago, and had a grant of lands and Indians in Peru to the extent of 20,000 pieces of eight yearly.—E.

bark in the port of Lima, in which they sailed northwards to a place where they landed, and whence they travelled by land to Quito. On their arrival, they represented to the viceroy, that the inhabitants of Lima and other places were exceedingly discontented by the conduct of Gonzalo, who subjected them to the most harassing and vexatious tyranny, driving them from their houses, and despoiling them of their goods, so that many of the colonists were reduced to depend on other persons for their subsistence. That Gonzalo imposed such burthensome contributions on the whole inhabitants, that they were unable to endure them; and that all were so weary of his tyranny, that they would gladly join any person who might come among them in the name of the king, to relieve them from the cruel oppression and tyrannous violence of the usurper. In consequence of this statement, the viceroy was induced to march from Quito towards San Miguel, appointing to the command of his troops one Diego de Occampo, an inhabitant of Quito, who had joined him on his arrival at Tumbez, and had expended large sums in his service from his own private fortune.

The licentiate Alvarez always accompanied the viceroy, and these two established themselves as the court of royal audience, in virtue of a commission from his majesty which the viceroy still held. By this royal order, the viceroy was authorised after his arrival at Lima, to hold audience in conjunction with two or one of the oydors who might first arrive, or even in case that any two or three of them should chance to die. In pursuance of this authority, the viceroy ordered a new seal to be made, which he committed to the custody of Juan de Leon, alcalde or police judge of Lima, who had been nominated by the Marquis of Camarosa, grand-chancellor of the Indies, as his deputy or chancellor of the audience of Lima. De Leon had fled from Gonzalo Pizarro, and had joined the viceroy at Quito. In consequence of this arrangement, the viceroy issued such orders and proclamations as seemed needful or expedient, in the name of the emperor Don Carlos; authenticating them with the royal seal, and by the signatures of himself and the licentiate Alvarez. By these means there were two royal audiences in Peru, one at the city of Lima, and the other wherever the viceroy happened to reside; so that it frequently happened that two opposite and contradictory decrees were pronounced and promulgated in one and the same cause.

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On taking the resolution of marching from Quito, the viceroy sent his brother-in-law, Diego Alvarez de Cueto, to inform his majesty of the state of affairs, and to solicit such reinforcements as might enable him to re-establish his authority in Peru, by waging war against Gonzalo Pizarro. Cueto went accordingly to Spain in the same fleet with Vaca de Castro and Texada, as already related. The viceroy advanced southwards to San Miguel, which is an hundred and fifty leagues from Quito, determining to remain at that place till he might receive farther orders from his majesty. The inhabitants of San Miguel gave him the best reception in their power, and furnished him as far as they were able with every thing he was in want of. He continually kept his small army on foot, to preserve the honour and reputation of his character as viceroy, and that he might be in a convenient situation for receiving such reinforcements as might come from Spain or from any of the American colonies; as every one coming by land from these quarters must necessarily pass by the way of San Miguel, especially if accompanied by horses or beasts of burthen. He expected therefore to be able in this place to collect reinforcements to his army, so as to be in condition to renew the war, and employed himself to collect men, horses, and arms, so that he was soon at the head of five hundred men, tolerably equipped. Some of these indeed were in want of defensive armour, which they endeavoured to supply by fabricating cuirasses of iron, and of hard leather.

At the time when Gonzalo Pizarro sent Bachicao with the brigantines to get possession of the ships belonging to the viceroy, he dispatched Gonzalo Diaz de Pinera and Jerom de Villegas to collect the soldiers who dwelt in Truxillo and San Miguel, that they might make head against the viceroy in the north of Peru. These officers remained in San Miguel with about eighty men whom they had drawn to their party, till they heard of the approach of the viceroy; on which, not being in sufficient force to oppose him, they retreated towards Truxillo, and established themselves in the province of *Collique*, about forty leagues[14] from San Miguel. From thence they sent intimation to Gonzalo of the advance of the viceroy, and that his army increased daily in numbers, insomuch that it

14 The distance in the text is probably a mistake for *fourteen* leagues, as about that distance to the S. E. of San Miguel there is a river named *Chola*, which may have given name to the district or valley in which it runs.—E.

it behoved him to think of some appropriate measures to avert the threatened danger. Diaz and Villegas were likewise informed that the viceroy had sent Juan de Pereira, one of his officers, into the province of Chachapoyas, in which there were very few Spanish settlers, to endeavour to collect reinforcements. As they believed that Pereira and his followers entertained no suspicions of their being in the neighbourhood, Diaz and Villegas determined on attempting to surprize them, which they did so effectually one night, that they made the whole party prisoners without resistance. Having beheaded Pereira and two of his principal followers, they obliged the rest of the party, about sixty horsemen, to enter into the service of Gonzalo, by threats of putting them all to death if they refused; after which they returned to their post.

The viceroy was greatly incensed by this untoward event, and determined to seek an opportunity of revenge. With this view he departed secretly from San Miguel with a body of an hundred and fifty horse, and took such judicious measures that he arrived one night undiscovered at *Collique*, where he surprized the enemy, and obliged them to fly in all directions. Diaz made his escape almost alone into a district inhabited by hostile Indians, who assailed him and put him to death. Villegas and Ferdinand Alvarado were more fortunate in their escape, as they were able to collect some of their dispersed troops, with whom they took up a new and more secure position not far from Truxillo, and at a safer distance from San Miguel.

As Gonzalo Pizarro was informed that the viceroy augmented his army from time to time, more especially after this successful enterprize, he resolved to march against him without delay; as hardly a day passed in which the viceroy was not joined by soldiers, horses, and arms from Spain, or some of the American colonies, all of which were landed at the port of Tumbez. He was likewise in dread lest some dispatch might arrive from the emperor, favourable to the viceroy, by which his own adherents might be intimidated, and numbers might be induced to change sides. With this view he assembled his army, determined to march in person against the viceroy, and if possible to bring him to action. He issued therefore the proper orders to all his officers, reviewed and mustered his troops, advanced them the necessary funds for taking the field, and sent off the baggage, artillery, ammunition and provisions, with the main body of the army towards

Truxillo,

Truxillo, remaining behind at Lima with some of his principal officers, to follow in proper time. About this time a vessel arrived from Arequipa with a very seasonable supply of 100,000 crowns; and another vessel from Tierra Firma, belonging to Gonzalo Martel, sent by his wife to enable him to return home. The arrival of these two vessels was very opportune for Gonzalo Pizarro, as they served to transport great quantities of musquets, pikes, ammunition, and other implements of war, together with a guard of an hundred and fifty men, and greatly facilitated the intended expedition against the viceroy.

On quitting Lima, Gonzalo Pizarro thought proper to take the oydor Cepeda and Juan de Caceres the accountant-general along with him, both to give the more eclat and appearance of legal authority to his measures, and on purpose to break up the court of royal audience, as Ortiz de Zarate would then be the only judge remaining at Lima, who was not thought of much importance, as he was in bad health. Besides, Blas de Soto, his brother, had married the daughter of that judge; and although that marriage had been effected contrary to the wish of Ortiz, it was considered as some tie upon his conduct. For greater security, however, Gonzalo used the precaution of carrying the royal seal along with him. Gonzalo Pizarro chose to go by sea; and on leaving Lima, he appointed Lorenzo de Aldana as lieutenant-governor of that city, with a garrison of eighty soldiers, to preserve tranquillity during his absence. This small number was considered sufficient to prevent any attempt towards a revolutionary movement, as most of the inhabitants of Lima accompanied the expedition. Gonzalo embarked in March 1545, and landed at the port of Santa, fifteen leagues south from Truxillo, at which city he arrived on Palm Sunday. He remained at this place for some time, waiting the junction of his troops, sending messages in various directions to expedite their march. After some time, he marched from Truxillo into the province of Collique, where the whole of his army assembled. At this place he reviewed his army, which amounted to above six hundred horse and foot. The troops under the viceroy were nearly as numerous; but those under Gonzalo were much better armed, and better supplied with every thing requisite for war, as well as being all veteran soldiers, accustomed to war and discipline, and well acquainted with all the difficult passes of the country. The troops of the vice-

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roy on the contrary, had for the most part come recently from Spain, were quite unaccustomed to war, and ill armed; besides which their powder was bad in quality.

Gonzalo used every effort to collect provisions and all kinds of necessaries for his army, more especially as he had to pass through a desert country which intervened between the province of Motupe[15] and the city of San Miguel, a distance of twenty-two leagues without any inhabitants, and entirely destitute of water or other means of refreshment, consisting every where of burning sands without shelter from the heat of the sun and almost under the equinoctial line. As this march was necessarily attended with much inconvenience and difficulty, Gonzalo used every proper precaution that his troops might be supplied abundantly with water and other necessaries. For this purpose all the neighbouring Indians were ordered to bring a prodigious quantity of jars and other vessels calculated to contain water. The soldiers were ordered to leave at Motupe all their clothes and baggage of which they were not in immediate want, which were to be brought forward by the Indians. Above all things, it was taken care that a sufficiency of water should accompany the army, both for the troops, and for the horses and other animals. Every thing being in readiness, Gonzalo sent forwards a party of twenty-five horsemen by the ordinary road through the desert, that they might be observed by the scouts belonging to the viceroy, and that he might be led to believe the army came in that direction. He then took a different route through the same desert with the army, marching as expeditiously as possible, every soldier being ordered to carry his provisions along with him on his horse. By these precautions, and the rapidity of the march, the viceroy was not informed of the approach of Gonzalo and his army, till they were very near San Miguel. Immediately on learning their approach, he sounded the alarm, giving out that he intended to meet and give battle to the insurgents; but as soon as his army was drawn out from the city, he took a quite opposite course, directing his march with all possible expedition towards the mountain of Caxas.

Gonzalo Pizarro got notice of the retreat of the viceroy about

15 Named Morrope in modern maps. The desert in the text is of great extent, reaching from the river Leche to the Piura, a distance of above eighty English miles.

about four hours afterwards, in consequence of which he made no halt at San Miguel, except to procure guides to direct him in the road which the viceroy had taken. In the first night of this pursuit, the army of Gonzalo marched eight Spanish leagues, or near thirty English miles, and several of the royalists who had lagged behind the rest, together with the whole baggage belonging to the retreating army fell into his hands. Gonzalo hanged such of his prisoners as were most obnoxious to him, and continued the pursuit of the flying royalists with the utmost diligence, through difficult and almost impracticable roads, where no provisions could be procured, always coming up with some of the hindmost of the enemy. Gonzalo likewise sent on several Indians with letters to the principal officers who served under the viceroy, urging them to put him to death, and offering them their pardons for the past and to give them high rewards. He continued the pursuit above fifty leagues or two hundred miles, till at length the horses were no longer able to carry their riders, and the men were incapable of proceeding, both from excessive fatigue and by the failure of provisions. The insurgent army at length arrived at Ayabaca[16], where the hot pursuit of the viceroy was discontinued, and the troops of Gonzalo halted for rest and refreshment. Besides the difficulty of overtaking the royalists, Gonzalo had received assurances from some of the principal followers of the viceroy that they would either put him to death, or deliver him up as a prisoner; and, as this came afterwards to the knowledge of the viceroy, he put several of these officers and gentlemen of his army to death. After Gonzalo had supplied his army with such provisions as could be furnished at Ayabaca, he resumed the pursuit, but with less rapidity than before, and keeping his army always in compact order; yet at this time some of his troops remained behind, partly owing to extreme fatigue, and partly from discontent. Leaving the viceroy to continue his retreat to Quito, and Gonzalo in pursuit, it is proper to mention some events that occurred at this time in other parts of Peru.

In this march, Gonzalo did not think proper to carry along with his army any of the soldiers belonging to the viceroy whom he had taken during the pursuit, both because he could not

16 Notwithstanding the distance mentioned in the text, Ayabaca is only about 60 miles, or fifteen Spanish leagues in a straight line N. N. E. from San Miguel.—E.

not confide in them, because he had already a sufficient force in proportion to the enemy, and because provisions were very difficult to be procured, as the viceroy had stripped every place through which he passed as much as possible. For this reason, Gonzalo Pizarro sent back all his prisoners to Truxillo, Lima, or such other places as they thought proper, having in the first place put to death such of their chiefs as he considered most strongly attached to the viceroy. As these soldiers were dispersed over several parts of the country, they began to declaim in favour of the viceroy and against the tyrannical conduct of Gonzalo, and found many persons abundantly disposed to listen to their harangues; both because what they alleged was true in itself, and because most of the Spanish inhabitants of Peru were much inclined to revolution and change of party, especially the soldiery and those who were lazy and unoccupied. The real settlers and principal inhabitants of the cities were quite of an opposite description, being friends of peace and order, as most conducive to their interest and happiness, and necessary to the preservation of their properties, and being more exposed in time of civil war than even the soldiers to be harassed and tormented in many ways, as the ruling party was apt on the slightest pretexts to put them to death on purpose to seize their effects, with which to gratify and reward the partizans of their tyranny and injustice. These seditious discourses were so openly indulged in, that they reached the knowledge of the lieutenants of Gonzalo; who, each in his peculiar jurisdiction, punished the authors as they deemed right. At Lima, to which most of these prisoners had gone, Pedro Martin de Cecilia the provost marshal was a violent partizan of Gonzalo, and caused several of these malecontents to be hanged. Lorenzo de Aldana, who had been left by Gonzalo as lieutenant-governor of Lima, was a prudent man, and conducted himself in a quite different manner, being disinclined from acting with such violence as might occasion displeasure to either party in the sequel; for which reason he used all his influence to prevent putting any one to death, or from injuring any person in any manner. Although he held his office from Gonzalo, he never exerted himself zealously in his service, so that the partizans of that usurper considered him as secretly gained by the other party, more especially as he always behaved well to the known friends of the viceroy. On this account, all these men flocked to Lima, where they believed

themselves

themselves in greater security than anywhere else. The partizans of Gonzalo, on the other hand, made loud complaints against the favourable behaviour of Aldana to the royalists; and in particular one of the alcaldes of Lima, named Christopher de Burgos, spoke of it so openly that Aldana thought it necessary to give him a public reprimand, and even committed him to prison for some time. Several even went so far as to communicate their suspicions of the fidelity of Aldana to Gonzalo Pizarro by letters, and even persuaded him of the truth of their allegations: But he refrained from manifesting his want of confidence in the lieutenant-governor, considering it dangerous to deprive him of his office while the army was at so great a distance, more especially as Aldana had a respectable military force, and was much esteemed by the citizens of Lima.

We have formerly mentioned that several inhabitants of the city of La Plata in the province of Las Charcas, on receiving orders to that effect from the viceroy, had set out from that city on purpose to offer him their services against Gonzalo; but having learnt his imprisonment while on their way to Lima, they returned to their habitations. Gonzalo Pizarro was particularly displeased with these men, as he expected to have been especially favoured by the inhabitants of his own peculiar district, and sent therefore a person named Francisco de Almendras as lieutenant-governor to La Plata, a coarse brutal fellow without feeling or humanity, and one of the most cruel satellites of his tyrannical usurpation; whom he instructed to be peculiarly watchful of the behaviour of those who had shewn an intention of joining the viceroy, and to make them feel on every opportunity how much he was dissatisfied with their conduct on that occasion. In pursuance of his instructions, Almendras deprived the principal persons among these loyalists of their lands and Indians, and exacted heavy contributions from them towards defraying the expences of the war. He likewise affronted and used them ill on all occasions, and even on very frivolous pretences. One Don Gomez de Luna, a principal person among the loyalists of La Plata, happened one day to observe in conversation at his own house, that the emperor Don Carlos must assuredly at length recover the command over Peru. This loyal sentiment was reported to Almendras, who immediately ordered De Luna to be arrested and thrown into the common prison. The magistrates of the city went in a body to supplicate Almendras

either

either to liberate De Luna, or at least to confine him in a place more conformable to his rank; and as Almendras refused to give a satisfactory answer to their representation, one of the magistrates declared publicly, that, if he would not liberate de Luna, they would do so in spite of him. Almendras dissembled his sentiments at the time, but went next night to the prison, whence he caused De Luna to be taken out to the public square and beheaded.

The inhabitants of the city were exceedingly disgusted by this cruel act of tyranny, which they considered as an outrage against the whole community; and particularly one Diego Centeno was most sensibly affected, as he and De Luna had been extremely intimate. At the commencement of the troubles respecting the obnoxious regulations, Centeno had attached himself to Gonzalo Pizarro, whom he had accompanied to Cuzco, in the capacity of procurator from the province of Las Charcas, being one of the principal persons of his party. Having noticed the bad intentions of Pizarro, and that he did not limit his designs to those objects which he at first proposed, Centeno abandoned the party of Gonzalo and returned to his own house. He now determined to use his utmost endeavours to revenge the cruel death of his friend De Luna, that he might save himself and others from the tyrannous rule of Almendras, and on purpose to restore the country to obedience to its legitimate sovereign. With this view, he communicated his sentiments to some of the principal settlers, among whom were Lopez de Mendoza, Alfonso Perez de Esquivel, Alfonzo de Camargo, Fernando Nunnez de Segura, Lopez de Mendiera, Juan Ortiz de Zarate, and several others whom he believed to have loyal intentions, all of whom he found disposed to second him in executing the enterprize which he had in view. In the prosecution of this purpose, they all assembled one Sunday morning, according to custom, at the house of Almendras, under pretence of accompanying him to church. When all were assembled, although Almendras had a considerable guard, Ceuteno went up to him as if to converse on some affair of moment, and stabbed him repeatedly with his dagger. The conspirators then dragged him out to the public square and cut off his head, declaring him a traitor, and proclaiming that they had done so for the service of the king.

Considering that Almendras was universally detested, the conspirators had not thought it necessary to use any precautions

tions for conciliating the people; yet all the inhabitants declared for the king, and took immediate measures to support his authority and to defend themselves against the resentment of Gonzalo and the insurgents. For this purpose, they elected Centeno as commander in chief of the province; in which capacity he appointed proper persons to be captains of cavalry and infantry under his authority, and used every effort to inlist a body of troops, which he paid out of his own funds, being one of the richest men in the country; but in this he was assisted by the other inhabitants of the province, who contributed towards the expence. Centeno was of an honourable family, being descended from Hernan Centeno who had made himself illustrious in the wars of Castille. He was about thirty-five years of age, of very agreeable manners, of a liberal disposition, personally brave, of an excellent character and universally respected. At this time he enjoyed a revenue exceeding 30,000 crowns; but about two years afterwards, on the discovery of the famous mines of Potosi, he became possessed of above 100,000 crowns of annual rent by means of his Indians, as his estate lay very near these mines.

Having assembled a body of troops, Centeno used every effort to provide them with arms and all other necessary equipments. He placed guards at all the passes, to prevent any intelligence from being conveyed to the enemy till his affairs were in proper order. He sent likewise Lopez de Mendoza one of his captains, first to Porco and thence to Arequipa to collect as many men as possible, and to endeavour to arrest Pedro de Puentes the lieutenant of Gonzalo at Arequipa. But Puentes fled immediately from Arequipa on receiving intelligence of the events which had occurred at Las Charcas. Mendoza therefore took possession of Arequipa without resistance; whence he reinforced himself with all the men, arms, and horses, he could procure, and carried off all the money he could find, with which and his reinforcement he returned to Centeno at La Plata.

On the return of Mendoza, Centeno found himself at the head of two hundred and fifty men well equipped for war, to whom he explained his sentiments and views, and gave an account of the criminal usurpation of Gonzalo Pizarro, in the following terms. "You know that Gonzalo, on leaving Cuzco, pretended merely to present the humble remonstrances of the colonists respecting the obnoxious regulations; and you

you have been informed that, even at the outset, he put to death Gaspard de Roias, Philip Gutierrez, and Arias Maldonado. You have learnt how he conspired with the judges of the royal audience and other inhabitants of Lima, to arrest and depose the viceroy, both of which were done accordingly. After this, while at the very gates of Lima, and before his public entry into that city, he sent in his lieutenant-general, who arrested many of the most considerable and richest inhabitants of the country, under the eyes of the judges, merely because these men had joined the viceroy, and even hanged three of them without any form of trial, Pedro de Barco, Martin de Florencia, and Juan Saavedra. He in the next place has broken up the royal court of audience, sending off its judges to different places, having in the first place obliged them to appoint him to the government. He has since, as you well know, caused many others to be put to death, merely on suspicion that they were favourable to the viceroy, and intended to join his party. Not satisfied with all this, he has seized all the treasure belonging to his majesty in the different receipts of the colony, and has imposed excessive contributions on the inhabitants, from whom he has exacted above 150,000 ducats by means of taxes imposed at his own pleasure. Adding crime to crime, he has again levied forces against the authority of his majesty, with which he has marched against the viceroy, and has carried insubordination and confusion into every part of the country; permitting and encouraging many to hold public discourse contrary to the respect and obedience which is due to his majesty. They were likewise aware, that Gonzalo had taken away the repartimientos, or allotments of lands and Indians from many persons, and had converted them to his own emolument. Finally, he laid before them the strong obligations by which they were all bound, as faithful subjects, to exert their utmost endeavours in the service of their sovereign, lest they should draw upon themselves the imputation of being rebels and traitors." By these representations, and others which it were tedious to repeat, he disposed his auditors to concur in his loyal sentiments, and willingly to obey his orders. After this, Centeno sent one of his captains with a detachment to Chicuito, a place belonging particularly to the king, between Orcaza and Las Charcas, with orders to guard the passes with the utmost vigilance, till he and the royalists were in full readi-

ness to execute their principal enterprize, as will be related in the sequel.

Notwithstanding every precaution employed by Centeno to conceal his operations and intentions, it was impossible to prevent intelligence from spreading in various directions, more especially after the expedition of Mendoza to Arequipa. Every thing he had already done, even the number of his troops, and of the musquets and horses he had collected, was fully known, by means of Indians and Spaniards who had escaped from La Plata, in spite of the guards which had been set to watch the passes of the mountains. Alfonso de Toro, who acted as lieutenant governor of Cuzco under Gonzalo Pizarro, happened at this time to be a hundred leagues to the northward of that city, keeping guard in one of the passes of the mountains, as by letters from Gonzalo the viceroy was reported to have gone into the mountainous country, and was supposed to have directed his march by that road toward the south of Peru. On receiving notice of the late revolution at La Plata, De Toro returned in all diligence to Cuzco, where he levied forces to oppose Centeno; and, having assembled the magistrates and principal inhabitants of Cuzco, he informed them of what had occurred at Las Charcas, and as there was a sufficient force in Cuzco to suppress the royalists, he thought it incumbent on him to march to La Plata for that purpose. To gain them over to his purpose, he represented that Centeno had revolted without any just cause, and had usurped authority in Las Charcas for his own private ends, under pretence of serving the king; whereas Gonzalo Pizarro, being actual governor of the kingdom of Peru, ought to be obeyed as such till his majesty sent orders to the contrary. That the revolt of Centeno, being both criminal in itself and contrary to the law, every one was bound to resist him, and to punish his temerity. He recalled to their remembrance, that Gonzalo Pizarro was engaged in serving the general interest of the colonists, to procure the revocation of the obnoxious ordinances, in which common cause he had exposed his fortune and personal safety to every hazard, as it was well known that every inhabitant of Peru would be stripped of his property if the regulations were put in force. That besides the general advantage procured by Gonzalo in setting aside the obnoxious regulations, for which all were infinitely indebted to him, it was obvious that he had not in any respect conducted him-

self

self contrary to the royal orders, and had not in any manner set himself against the authority of the sovereign; since, on his arrival at Lima for the purpose of presenting their remonstrances, the judges of the royal audience had already arrested the viceroy and sent him out of the kingdom, of which these judges had appointed Gonzalo interim governor; and that in marching in a warlike manner against the viceroy, he had acted at the request and by the orders of the royal audience; as was manifest by his being accompanied by Cepeda, one of the royal judges and chairman of the audience. He asserted that no person in Peru could take upon him to determine whether the audience had acted right or otherwise in conferring the government on Gonzalo; and that it was the duty of all to support him in that office, till they received the ulterior orders of the sovereign.

At the close of this discourse, every one acknowledged the justice of what he had represented, and voluntarily offered to support Gonzalo with their lives and fortunes; although in reality most of them did so more from fear than good will, as they stood in great awe of De Toro, who had hanged several persons in a summary manner, and had made himself universally dreaded by his cruel and ferocious disposition and conduct, so that no one dared to oppose or contradict him in any thing. After a short deliberation, a set of resolutions were entered into, in which the transactions of Centeno in Las Charcas were recited as seditious and unlawful, and he was declared to have assassinated Francisco de Almendras, the lieutenant governor, to have levied forces in rebellion against the legitimate government, and to have passed the boundaries of the province of Las Charcas in hostile manner; for all which reasons it was just and proper to make war upon him, and to reduce him to obedience. All this was done principally to satisfy or to amuse the people, and to make them believe that the partizans of Gonzalo acted reasonably and lawfully, as all those who signed these resolutions were perfectly aware of the real state of affairs. In reality, although matters were thus represented in the popular assemblages, in justification of the measures of the insurgent party, or at least to excuse their actions under specious pretences, those who took an active part on the present occasion, used often to declare, both in the presence and absence of Gonzalo, that the king would certainly give, or ought to give him the government of Peru, as they were resolved not to receive any

other

other person in that capacity, such being the resolution of Gonzalo in which they all concurred.

Alfonso de Toro now proceeded to levy an army, of which he declared himself captain general and commander in chief, and appointed captains and other officers to command under his authority. In all his proceedings he carried himself with a high hand, employing force and violence, instead of persuasion and good treatment. He protested publickly and with many oaths, that he would hang up every one who did not assist and contribute to the cause; and even had several persons carried to the foot of the gallows, whose lives he was induced to spare by dint of solicitations. He abused and maltreated others, using every one in the most outrageous manner who did not give way to him in all things. By this violent procedure he completed his warlike preparations at very small expence; insomuch that it appeared afterwards by his accounts, that he had not expended above twenty thousand crowns in this expedition, as he took away gratuitously all the horses that were to be found in Cuzco, and constrained all the inhabitants who were able to carry arms to accompany him in the expedition against Centeno. By these means De Toro collected three hundred men, tolerably armed and equipped, with which he marched from Cuzco to a place named Urcos, about six leagues from that city, where he remained three weeks in anxious expectation of intelligence from Las Charcas: But all the roads and passes between and La Plata, were so well guarded by the Indians, who were entirely disposed to favour Centeno, that he was unable to learn any thing of the movements or intentions of the royalists in Las Charcas, so that he was constrained to remain continually on the alert lest he might have been surprized. Besides these military precautions, he rigorously punished all who presumed to shew the slightest disinclination towards the interest of the Pizarrian faction, or to express their sentiments in any respect in disapprobation of his own designs; insomuch that all were constrained from dread of punishment to appear heartily attached to the cause in which he was engaged.

After remaining three weeks encamped at Urcos, he determined to march in search of Centeno, and advanced for that purpose to the village named Del Rey. As the troops of Centeno happened to be a good deal scattered at this time, he was under the necessity of retreating on the approach of

De Toro. These hostile chiefs being encamped at the distance of about twelve leagues, entered into a negotiation to endeavour to form an accommodation; but, as they were unable to agree upon any terms, De Toro advanced for the purpose of attacking Centeno; who, on the other hand, was unwilling to risk the chance of an engagement, owing to the inferiority of his force, and because a defeat might have dispirited his own party and have been of great advantage to the cause of the insurgents. On this account he retired in proportion as De Toro advanced, accompanied by a great number of large Peruvian sheep loaded with provisions and ammunition, and carrying along with him all the principal *curacas* or native chiefs, to prevent De Toro from being able to avail himself of the assistance of the Indians. In this manner Centeno continued to retreat across a desert and uninhabited country of forty leagues extent, till he arrived at a place named *Casabindo*, through which Diego de Roias had formerly descended from the elevated region of Peru into the eastern plain of the Rio de la Plata. Alfonso de Toro continued the pursuit as far as the city of La Plata, which is an hundred and eighty leagues to the south of Cuzco. Finding that place abandoned and entirely stript of every thing which might contribute to the subsistence of his troops, and being unable to procure provisions on account of the absence of all the curacas or caciques, he was under the necessity to discontinue his pursuit of Centeno, and even found himself compelled to return towards Cuzco. In this retreat, De Toro took the command of the advanced guard of fifty men, ordering the main body to march at leisure, and left a rear-guard of thirty of his best mounted cavalry under Alfonso de Mendoza, with orders to use every possible means of procuring intelligence of the motions of Centeno; that, in case of his following, the troops might be collected together in good order to rejoin the van.

The departure of De Toro from La Plata on his return to Cuzco was soon communicated to Centeno by means of the Indians. He was astonished at this sudden alteration of affairs; and, as he understood that De Toro marched in great haste, without keeping his troops in close array, he supposed that circumstance to have been occasioned by De Toro entertaining suspicions of the fidelity of his followers, and that he had found them ill-disposed towards the party of the Pizarrians. On these considerations, Centeno resolved to

pursue in his turn, in hope of drawing some advantage to the cause in which he was engaged from this measure, and even expecting that several of the followers of Toro might come over to his side. He sent off therefore the captain Lope de Mendoza with fifty light armed cavalry in pursuit of the enemy. Mendoza got in a short time to Collao; and, although de Toro and most of his troops had already passed beyond that place, he made prisoners of about fifty who remained behind, whom at first he deprived of their horses and arms. Soon afterwards, however, he returned these to his prisoners, and even distributed some money among them, receiving their engagements upon oath to join him when required; but he hanged a few of them who were suspected of being particulary attached to De Toro. After this successful exploit, Lope returned in great haste to La Plata, in hope of being able to cut off Alfonzo de Mendoza and his small party, who still occupied that place. But Alfonzo had received intelligence of what had happened at Collao, and had already quitted La Plata in great haste, taking a different road from that pursued by Lope, by which means he got safe to Cuzco.

Centeno arrived soon afterwards at La Plata with the remainder of his troops, where he assembled all the force under his command, and where he made every possible preparation for continuing the war to advantage, and in particular caused a number of musquets to be made. De Toro continued his retreat to Cuzco, dreading much to be pursued, and lest Centeno might have acquired possession of Cuzco, which he might easily have accomplished in the present situation of affairs; but Centeno thought it more prudent to remain at La Plata, where he augmented the number of his troops and collected treasure which was found in great plenty in the province of Las Charcas.

The events which had taken place in Las Charcas were soon known at Lima; and as several of the soldiers in that city were attached to the party of the viceroy, they spoke almost openly of going away to join Centeno; and, from the small attention paid by Lorenzo de Aldana to repress these men, he was even suspected of favouring the same cause. Antonio de Ribera likewise, although the brother-in-law of Pizarro, was strongly suspected of being secretly devoted to the royal interest, as indeed his conduct in the sequel evinced; and several other persons of consideration lay under

suspicions

suspicions of the same nature. All this gave much uneasiness to the friends of Pizarro: Yet those persons at Lima who wished well to the interests of his majesty, did not think it prudent at this time to make any open attempt, being satisfied that it was better to wait a more favourable opportunity, and that De Aldana would prepare matters for that purpose, as he seemed clearly favourable to the same cause. His abilities were universally acknowledged, and his good intentions were not doubted, so that all were satisfied that he would conduct matters with much prudence to a favourable issue.

At this time it became known at Lima that the viceroy had retreated with a small body of troops into the province of Popayan; and that during his retreat he had put to death several of the officers and other persons of consideration in his army; among whom were Rodrigo de Ocampo, Jerom de la Cerna, Gaspard Gil Olivarez and Gomez Estacio; some of these because they were inclined to abandon him, and others for corresponding with Gonzalo Pizarro, and conspiring to put the viceroy to death. On the communication of this intelligence at Lima, it produced different effects according to the different inclinations and views of the inhabitants. It occasioned more reserve among those who were of loyal dispositions; whereas the partizans of the Pizarrian tyranny considered themselves more at liberty to avow their sentiments to Aldana. They went therefore to him in a body, and represented that there were many persons in Lima who were strongly suspected of being hostile to Gonzalo Pizarro, and only waited a favourable opportunity to take up arms against him; and that it was incumbent therefore on the lieutenant governor to punish these men for the scandalous freedoms in which they had indulged, or at least to banish them from the city. They offered to furnish sufficient proof of these facts, and urged him to exert his authority on the occasion. Aldana assured them that none of these things had ever come to his knowledge; and that if he knew who those were against whom they complained, he would take such measures as were necessary on the occasion.

The partizans of Pizarro became at length so bold that they arrested fifteen of those whom they most strongly suspected of attachment to the deposed viceroy, among whom was Diego Lopez de Zuniga. Having thrown these men into prison, the Pizarrians were inclined to have given them the torture

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to extort confession, and afterwards to have procured their condemnation by Pedro Martin the provost marshal of the city; so that they were in imminent danger of being put to death, if Lorenzo de Aldana had not exerted himself promptly and effectually to take them out of the hands of the Pizarrians. For this purpose, he caused them all to be brought to his own residence, on pretence that they would be there in more safe custody, and provided them with every thing of which they stood in need, even secretly furnishing them with a vessel in which they embarked and saved themselves from their enemies. This transaction gave much dissatisfaction to the friends of Pizarro, both on account of the escape of the prisoners, and because Aldana refused to allow of any formal investigation into the circumstances of their escape; on which account the Pizarrians firmly believed that Aldana was in secret league with the opposite party. They wrote therefore to Gonzalo Pizarro, giving him an account of all these events, and urging him to give proper orders on the occasion. But Gonzalo did not think it prudent at this time to make any change in affairs at Lima, or to attempt any thing against Aldana; because, as it has been reported, he was afraid of matters taking an unfavourable issue while he was at so great a distance.

When Gonzalo Pizarro was informed of what had been done by Centeno in the province of Las Charcas against his interest and authority, he believed it necessary to use prompt measures for reducing that country to subjection, and not to give his enemies time and opportunity for strengthening themselves and increasing the number of their partizans; as he flattered himself that he would become absolute master of the whole kingdom of Peru, if he were able to get rid of Centeno. After several consultations with the principal officers of his army, on the measures necessary to be pursued on this emergency, in which Gonzalo could not act in person as he had still to oppose the viceroy in the north, it was determined to confide the care of an expedition against Centeno to the lieutenant-general Carvajal. For this purpose all the necessary orders and commissions were made out immediately in the name of Gonzalo Pizarro, by which Carvajal was authorized to levy what men and money he might deem necessary. This employment was very acceptable to Carvajal, as he believed he might derive considerable profit to himself in its execution; and he set out from Quito accompanied only by

twenty persons, in whom he had great confidence. The council of Gonzalo Pizarro had other and secret motives for recommending the employment of Carvajal on this occasion, besides those which they publickly avowed. Some were desirous of acquiring by his absence a greater share in the management of affairs; while others were anxious to send him to a distance, from the terror inspired by his cruel and ferocious conduct, and his passionate temper, owing to which he used often to put people to death on the most trifling offences or the slightest suspicions. But all the leaders in the army disguised their real sentiments on this occasion, pretending that the importance of the affair required the talents and experience of Carvajal to bring it to a successful issue.

Leaving Quito, Carvajal went directly to San Miguel, where the principal inhabitants went out to meet him, and conducted him with much respect to the house which was prepared for his reception. On arriving there, he desired six of the most considerable persons belonging to the city to dismount and accompany him into the house, under pretence that he had something of importance to communicate to them from the governor. Having caused the doors to be shut, and posted centinels to prevent any communication with the rest of the inhabitants, he represented to these men, that Gonzalo was much incensed against them for having always taken part with his enemies, and more especially on account of having received and favoured the deposed viceroy, and of having readily supplied his army with every thing of which they stood in need. On this account it had been his first intention to have destroyed the city with fire and sword, without sparing a single inhabitant. But, on reflecting that the magistrates and principal inhabitants only were to blame, the people at large having been constrained by force or fear, he was now determined to punish only the most guilty and to pardon the rest. Yet, having certain private reasons for dissembling for the present with some of the principal persons of the place, he had selected the six who were now present, as principal inhabitants, to punish them as they richly deserved, that they might serve as a warning to all Peru. For this reason, therefore, he desired them to confess their sins in preparation for death, as he was resolved to have them all executed immediately.

They used every argument to exculpate themselves from the crimes laid to their charge, but all they could say was

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without avail; and Carvajal even caused one of them to be strangled, against whom he was particularly incensed, as he had been principally instrumental in constructing the royal seal which the viceroy employed in his dispatches. In the mean time, a rumour of what was going forward at the residence of Carvajal spread over the city, and came to the knowledge of the wives of the prisoners. These ladies immediately implored the priests and monks who dwelt in San Miguel to accompany them to the place where their husbands were in so great danger. They all went there accordingly, and got in by a private door which had not been noticed by the people belonging to Carvajal, and which had consequently been omitted to be guarded. Coming into the presence of Carvajal, the wives of the prisoners threw themselves at his feet, and implored mercy for their husbands. He pretended to be softened, and granted pardon to the prisoners, so far as their lives; yet reserving to himself to punish them in such other manner as he might see fit. Accordingly, he banished them from the province, depriving them of their lands and Indians, and condemned them in the payment of heavy fines towards defraying the expences of the war.

From San Miguel Carvajal went to Truxillo, collecting every where on his route all the soldiers, horses, arms, and money he could find. Carvajal had resolved to have put one Melchior Verdugo to death, who dwelt in Truxillo; but as Verdugo got intimation of this intention, he fled to the province of Caxamarca, where his repartimiento of Indians was situated. The bussiness on which Carvajal was engaged was of too great importance to admit of pursuing Verdugo; wherefore, after having got possession of as much money as possible under pretence of a loan, he went on to Lima, always collecting all the soldiers he could procure. He gave no money to his recruits, only supplying them with horses and arms, which he took wherever they could be found. He kept all the money he could find for his own use, every where pillaging the royal coffers and public funds, and even searching for treasure among the ancient tombs. After arriving at Lima, he completed his military preparations, and departed for Cuzco by way of the mountain and the city of Guamanga, at the head of two hundred men well equipped, and carrying with him a great sum of money which he had collected during his march; and at Guamanga he conducted himself in the same rapacious manner as in other places.

Seven

Seven or eight days after the departure of Carvajal from Lima, a conspiracy was detected among those who were well affected to the royal cause, in consequence of which fifteen of the principal persons of that city were committed to prison. Among these were, Juan Velasquez, Vela Nunnez nephew to the viceroy, Francisco Giron another gentlemen of his household, and Francisco Rodriguez. By means of the torture, these unhappy persons were made to confess that they had concerted with Pedro Manxarres, an inhabitant of Las Charcas, to kill the lieutenant-governor Aldana, the provost marshall Pedro Martin, and other friends and partizans of Gonzalo Pizarro, after which they proposed to induce the citizens of Lima to declare for his majesty, confidently expecting that all those who now followed Carvajal by constraint would join their party; and they intended finally to have gone off with all the strength they could muster to join Centeno. Upon this forced confession, Giron and one other of these prisoners were strangled. By the intercession of several respectable persons the life of Juan Velasquez was spared, but his right hand was cut off. All the rest of these prisoners were so severely tortured that they continued lame for the rest of their lives. Manxarres saved himself by flight, and continued to conceal himself among the mountains for more than a year; but fell at last into the hands of one of the officers in the interest of Gonzalo, who caused him to be hanged.

As Pedro Martin, the provost-marshal, strongly suspected that some of those who accompanied Carvajal had participated in this plot; he endeavoured to discover this by torturing Francisco de Guzman, one of the prisoners. Finding that Guzman made no confession on this head, he interrogated him particularly respecting a soldier along with Carvajal named Perucho de Aguira, and some of his friends, demanding to know whether these men were in the secret. On purpose to free himself from the torture, Guzman said they were. After this confession, Guzman was formally condemned to become a monk in the convent belonging to the order of mercy, in which he accordingly assumed the habit. After this, Martin demanded from the registrar a certificate of the confession of Guzman, by which Aguira and others were implicated in the plot, and Martin immediately sent off this writing by an Indian messenger to Carvajal who was then at Guamanga. On the receipt of this paper, Carvajal ordered Aguira and five others to be hanged, without any further

proof

proof or examination. A short time afterwards, the registrar being sensible of the error he had committed in supplying the certificate, sent off a full copy of the confession made by Guzman, in which was an ample revocation of all he had said under torture, declaring that he had falsely charged Aguira and the others, merely to get free from torture. This was however of no avail, as it arrived too late, Aguira and the others having been already executed, although they asserted their innocence to the last moment of their lives, as was certified by the confessors who attended them at their execution; but Carvajal was inexorable.

Learning while at Guamanga, that Centeno had retired through the desert to Casabindo as he was unable to cope with Toro, Carvajal was satisfied that the affairs of the insurgent party were in a fair train in Las Charcas, where his presence was not now needed, and determined therefore to return to Lima. He was besides induced to take this step in consequence of a difference which subsisted between Toro and himself, occasioned by the charge of lieutenant general under Gonzalo having originally belonged to Toro, of which he had been deprived in favour of Carvajal. He feared therefore, lest Toro, on his victorious return from Las Charcas, being at the head of a much stronger force, might renew their former quarrel. Carvajal had likewise received letters from some inhabitants of Lima, remarking the lukewarmness of Aldana to the cause of Gonzalo Pizarro, and requesting his presence to place affairs at that city on a more secure footing. He returned therefore to Lima; but learning shortly afterwards the successful return of Centeno against De Toro, he again collected his troops and prepared to march against Centeno. With this view, he had his standards solemnly consescrated, not forgetting to impose fresh exactions on the inhabitants of Lima. On this occasion, he designated his army, *The happy army of Liberty, against the Tyrant Centeno.*

Before leaving Lima, he sent off messengers to Cuzco by way of the mountain, but chose to march by the route of the plain or low country of Peru to Arequipa, exacting money from the inhabitants wherever he passed. At Arequipa he received letters from the magistrates of Cuzco and De Toro, earnestly requesting his immediate presence in that city; whence, as being the capital of the kingdom, it was proper that the army should march against the rebels. They assured him of being there provided with considerable reinforce-

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ments of men arms and horses, and that all the principal persons of the city were ready to accompany him on the expedition: adding, that being himself a citizen of Cuzco, it seemed reasonable he should honour that city by his presence. By these and other considerations he was induced to march for Cuzco, though still entertaining some distrust and even fear of Toro, who he was informed had often spoken against him in his absence. When De Toro was informed of the approach of Carvajal to Cuzco, he made every necessary preparation for reinforcing the army, and providing for the intended expedition against Centeno; yet could not conceal his dissatisfaction, that he who had begun the war, and had already suffered great fatigues, and even had gained material advantages, should be superseded by another commander whom he must now obey, and more especially that it should be Carvajal who was put over him, with whom he had been already engaged in disputes. He dissembled however as much as possible, and concealed his resentment, saying publickly that his only wish was for the fortunate management of affairs, whoever might command. Yet with all his caution, he could not so carefully conceal his sentiments, but that he occasionally dropped expressions of resentment.

The discontent of De Toro was well known to the inhabitants of Cuzco, yet they were in hopes that Carvajal would set every thing to rights on his arrival. Carvajal having arrived in the neighbourhood of the city, which he was to enter next day at the head of two hundred men, part cavalry and part musqueteers, De Toro was very anxious to muster all that were able to carry arms; and from this measure, and the precautions he took that every one should be in the most perfect equipment, and the troops steady in their ranks, it was suspected that he entertained some evil design. De Toro was thus posted with his troops, as if in ambush, in the way by which Carvajal had to march into the city. As these circumstances were made known to Carvajal, he ordered his troops to march in close array, and even ordered their arms to be loaded with ball, prepared for whatever might happen. On entering the city, De Toro and his troops were seen on one side, as if ready to dispute the passage. Carvajal halted his men, and the two parties remained for some time observing each other with mutual distrust. At length, as neither side seemed inclined to commence hostilities, both parties broke their ranks and intermingled as friends.

Carvajal

Carvajal was exceedingly irritated against De Toro for his conduct on this occasion, but dissembled till he had entered into Cuzco, where he was received in the most honourable manner. A few days afterwards, he caused four of the principal inhabitants to be arrested, and ordered them to instant execution, without consulting De Toro, or even assigning any reason for this cruel and arbitrary proceeding. Some of those whom he put to death were among the most intimate friends of De Toro, who deemed it prudent and necessary to be silent on the occasion. The unexpected cruelty of Carvajal occasioned much astonishment and consternation among the inhabitants of Cuzco, insomuch that none of them dared to refuse accompanying him on the expedition, and he was enabled to leave Cuzco at the head of three hundred well appointed soldiers with which he marched by Collao in the way towards the province of Las Charcas in search of Centeno. As the latter had a considerably stronger force, it was believed by many that Carvajal would be unsuccessful in this expedition, more especially as most of his followers acted more from force than good will, because he allowed them no pay and treated them with much severity. In his whole conduct and deportment Carvajal acted in a brutal and passionate manner, evincing himself on all occasions the enemy of good men; for he was a bad Christian, constantly addicted to blasphemy, and of a cruel and tyrannical disposition, insomuch that it was generally expected his own people would put him to death to rid themselves of his tyrannous and oppressive conduct. Besides all this, it was obvious to many, that right and justice were on the side of Centeno, who was a man of honour and probity, and, being exceedingly rich, had both the power and inclination to reward his followers. It is necessary to quit Carvajal and his expedition for the present, that we may relate the events which took place at Quito.

We have already mentioned that Gonzalo Pizarro pursued the viceroy from San Miguel to Quito, a distance of 150 leagues or 600 miles, with much perseverance and rapidity, insomuch that almost every day the light armed men belonging to the two armies had opportunities of speaking with each other. During the whole of that long march, neither party had an opportunity to unsaddle their horses. Those belonging to the viceroy, owing to the necessity they were under of escaping from a force so much superior, were even more alert than their pursuers. When at any time they stopped

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to take a short rest during the night, they slept on the ground in their clothes, holding their horses by the halters, without wasting time in fixing up piquets, or making any of the usual preparations for accommodating themselves and horses during the night. It is true that piquets are seldom used in the sands of Peru for the horses, as it would be necessary to drive these very deep to take sufficient hold; and as there are no trees to be met with in many parts of that country for making piquets, necessity has introduced a substitute in some measure equivalent: For this purpose each horseman has a small bag, which he fills with sand and burries in a hole of sufficient depth, having one end of the halter fixed to the bag, the hole being afterwards filled up and pressed well down to prevent the bag from being drawn up by the efforts of the horse. But on this urgent occasion, the troops of the viceroy did not take time for this measure, but held the halters in their hands, that they might be ready to mount and set out the moment it was necessary by the approach of their pursuers.

In this long march, both the pursuers and the pursued suffered exceedingly from want of provisions; more especially the Pizarrians, as the viceroy used the precaution of removing the curacas and Indians from all the country through which he passed, that his enemy might find every part of the country deserted and unprovided with any means of subsistence. During this precipitate retreat, the viceroy carried along with him eight or ten of the best horses he had been able to procure, which were led by Indians for his own particular use; and when any of these became so tired as to be unable to proceed, he ordered them to be hamstrung, to prevent them from being useful to the enemy. While on this march in pursuit of the viceroy, Gonzalo Pizarro was joined by Captain Bachicao, who now returned from Tierra Firma with a reinforcement of three hundred and fifty men and a large quantity of artillery, having disembarked, from twenty vessels which he had procured, on a part of the coast as near as possible to Quito, and had made his way in such a manner across the mountains that he got to Quito rather before Gonzalo. On the junction of Bachicao, Gonzalo found himself at the head of more than eight hundred men, among whom were many of the principal people in South America, both townsmen or burgesses, planters, and soldiers. Owing to this large reinforcement, Gonzalo Pizarro found himself in such a state of tranquil security at Quito as hardly

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any usurper or tyrant had ever before enjoyed; as besides that this province abounded in provisions of every kind, several rich mines of gold had been recently discovered; and as most of the principal people of the province were either now along with the viceroy, or had attached themselves to him while at Quito, Gonzalo Pizarro appropriated all their Indians to himself, employing them in the collection of gold. From the Indians belonging to the treasurer, Rodrigo Nunnez de Bonilla, he procured about 800 marks [17] of gold in the course of eight months; besides that there were other repartimientos of greater value, and that he appropriated all the revenues and rights belonging to the crown, and even pillaged the tombs of the ancient sovereigns of Quito in search of treasure.

After a short stay at Quito, Gonzalo learnt that the viceroy had halted at the city of Parto, about forty leagues from thence, at the frontiers of the government of Benalcazar. Resolving to follow him, Gonzalo pushed on as he had done from San Miguel, and the light troops of the hostile parties had some interference at a place called Rio Caliente. When the viceroy was informed of the approach of Gonzalo, he hastily quitted Parto and retired to the city of Popayan at a greater distance from Quito, and was pursued by Gonzalo for twenty leagues beyond Parto. As Gonzalo found that he would have to march through a desert country, altogether destitute of provisions, he here discontinued the pursuit, and returned to Quito. Perhaps this was the longest and hottest pursuit ever made in war; as, counting from La Plata whence Gonzalo first set out, to Parto where the pursuit was discontinued, the distance is not less than 700 large Spanish leagues, or 2800 miles.

On his return to Quito, Gonzalo Pizarro was so puffed up with the success which had hitherto attended him, that he frequently spoke of his majesty with much disrespect; alleg-

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17 Eight hundred marks of gold, or 6400 ounces, at L. 4 an ounce, are worth L. 25,600: and at six for one, the value put upon bullion in those days by the Historian of America, are now worth at least L. 153,600, perhaps a quarter of a million. As there were other repartimientos of more value than those of the treasurer, besides others not so valuable, it is not beyond bounds to suppose that Gonzalo may have acquired as much treasure at Quito as was equal to a million of our present money: A prodigious sum, considering that his army did not exceed 800 men; being equal to L. 1250 for each soldier.—E.

ing that the king would be reduced to the necessity of granting him the government of Peru, and even went so far as to say, if this favour were denied him, he would throw off his allegiance. For the most part indeed, he concealed these ambitious sentiments, pretending that he was always ready to submit to the orders of his majesty; but all his officers were satisfied that he meant to assert an independent dominion, and publickly avowed these absurd and criminal pretensions. On returning from Parto, he remained a long while at Quito, continually feasting and rejoicing; he and his adherents abandoning themselves to every degree of licence and debauchery, particularly in regard to the sex. It is even asserted that Gonzalo caused a citizen of Quito to be assassinated, whose wife he publickly lived with, and that he hired a Hungarian soldier, named Vincente Pablo to execute this infamous deed. This man was afterwards hanged at Valladolid, in the year 1551, by a sentence of the royal council of the Indies.

As Pizarro found himself in the command of a strong body of excellent troops, which appeared entirely attached to his service, some of their own accord and others by constraint, he persuaded himself that no one could oppose him, or prevent him from enjoying his present elevation in peace and tranquillity. He was even convinced that the emperor would be obliged to treat him with cautious respect, and must find himself under the necessity of entering into a compromise. It was at this time, when Gonzalo considered himself as unresisted master of all Peru, that Centeno revolted from his tyrannical usurpation in the province of Las Charcas, and that he dispatched Carvajal for the reduction of that loyal officer, as has been already mentioned.

Having continued a long time at Quito without receiving any intelligence of the measures which were taken by the viceroy, Gonzalo became anxious to learn what was become of him. Some alleged that he would return to Spain by way of Carthagena, while others gave it as their opinion that he would retire to Tierra Firma, to keep possession of the isthmus, to assemble troops, arms, ammunition, and provisions, and to wait for orders from his majesty; and a third opinion was that he would wait for these orders in Popayan, where he now was. No one suspected that he would be able to collect a sufficient number of troops in that place to enable him to undertake any enterprize for recovering his authority in Peru; yet it seemed advisable to Gonzalo and his officers to

to take possession of the Tierra Firma, on purpose to occupy the only direct passage between Spain and Peru. For this purpose, Gonzalo Pizarro appointed Pedro Alfonzo De Hinojosa to command the fleet which Bachicao had collected, giving him a detachment of two hundred and fifty men to enable him to occupy the isthmus, and directed him while on his voyage to Panama to coast along the province of Buenaventura and the mouth of the river of San Juan.

Hinojosa set out immediately on this expedition, dispatching a single vessel, commanded by Captain Rodrigo de Carvajal direct for Panama, with letters from Gonzalo to some of the principal inhabitants of that city urging them to favour his designs. In these letters, he pretended that he was exceedingly displeased on hearing of the violence and rapacity with which Bachicao had conducted himself towards the inhabitants of Panama, in direct contradiction to his orders, which were to land the Doctor Texada without doing injury to any one. He informed them that Hinojosa was now on his way to their city, for the express purpose of indemnifying all those who had been injured by Bachicao; and desired them not to be under any apprehension of Hinojosa, although accompanied by a considerable force, as it was necessary for him to be on his guard against the viceroy and some of his officers, who were understood to be then in the Tierra Firma levying soldiers for their master. On the arrival of Rodrigo Carvajal at a place named Ancona about three leagues from Panama, he learnt that two officers belonging to the viceroy, Juan de Guzman and Juan Yllanez, were then in Panama, having been sent to that place to procure recruits and to purchase arms, with which they were to have gone to Popayan. They had already enrolled above an hundred soldiers, and had procured a considerable quantity of arms, among which were five or six small field-pieces; but, instead of going with these to join the viceroy, they remained to defend Panama against Gonzalo Pizarro, who they expected might send a force to occupy that important station.

As Rodrigo Carvajal had only fifteen men along with him, he did not think it prudent to land in person; but sent secretly by night one of his soldiers to deliver the letters with which he was entrusted. The soldier accordingly delivered them to the inhabitants for whom they were addressed, who immediately communicated them to the magistrates and the officers of the viceroy. The soldier was taken into custody, from

from whom they learnt the coming of Hinojosa, and the orders with which he was entrusted. Upon this intelligence, they armed the whole population of Panama, and fitted out two brigantines which were sent off on purpose to capture Rodrigo Carvajal; but, as his messenger did not return, Carvajal suspected what had actually taken place, and set sail for the Pearl Islands to wait the arrival of Hinojosa, by which means he escaped from the brigantines. Pedro de Casaos was then governor of the Tierra Firma; and to be in readiness to defend his province against Hinojosa, he went immediately to Nombre de Dios, where he collected all the musquets and other arms he could procure, arming all the inhabitants of that place who were fit for service, whom he carried along with him to Panama, making every preparation in his power for defence. The two captains belonging to the viceroy, Guzman and Yllanez, likewise put their troops in order for resistance, and at first there was some jealousy between them and Casaos as to the supreme commaud; but it was at length agreed that Casaos should command in chief, as governor of the province, while they retained the immediate authority over their own men, and bore their own standards. Differences had subsisted for some time between these officers and the governor, because he had repressed some disorderly conduct in which they had indulged, and had advised them to set off with their men to the assistance of the viceroy for whom they were employed to levy troops; while they were averse from that measure, and finding themselves at the head of a respectable force, they made light of the orders of Casaos, and refused to obey him: But the necessity they were now under of providing for their mutual defence, occasioned them to enter into an accommodation of their disputes.

After the dispatch of Carvajal to Panama, as already mentioned, Hinojosa set sail with ten vessels, and continued along the coast to the north till he arrived at Buenaventura, a small sea port at the mouth of the river San Juan which forms the southern boundary of Popayan, the government of Benalcazar. He proposed to learn at this place the situation and intentions of the viceroy, and to have seized any vessels that might be at this harbour, to prevent them from being employed by the viceroy for returning to Peru. On arriving at Buenaventura, Hinojosa sent some soldiers on shore, who brought off eight or ten of the inhabitants, from whom he learnt that the viceroy remained at Popayan, engaged in as-

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sembling troops and military stores for attempting to return into Peru; and that finding Yllanez and Guzman delayed their return from Panama, he had sent off his brother Vela Nunnez with several corporals on their way to Panama, to expedite the transmission of such reinforcements as could be procured, and had supplied him for that purpose with all the money belonging to the king at Popayan. Hinojosa was likewise informed that Vela Nunnez had the charge of a bastard son of Gonzalo Pizarro of twelve years old, who was found by the viceroy at Quito, and was now sent away to Panama, in the hope that the merchants of Panama might ransom him at a high price to acquire the good will of Gonzalo. The individual who communicated all this information added that the viceroy had employed a number of Indians to cut down a quantity of timber, which was to be conveyed to Buenaventura, on purpose to build a small vessel for the accommodation of Vela Nunnez; who must now be within a short distance of Buenaventura, and had sent this person before to inquire if he might come in safety to that place.

On receiving this intelligence, Hinojosa landed two confidential officers with a party of soldiers, giving them orders to take two several routes into the interior, as pointed out by the informant, on purpose to take Vela Nunnez. Accordingly, one of these officers came up with Vela Nunnez, and the other got hold of Rodrigo Mexia and Saavedra with the son of Gonzalo Pizarro[18]. Both of these parties carried considerable sums of money, which was pillaged by the soldiers of Hinojosa; and the prisoners were brought on board the vessels, where great rejoicings were made for the happy success of this enterprize, by which their acquisition of Panama must be facilitated, and because they had done especial good service to Gonzalo by the liberation of his son.

Hinojosa now resumed his voyage, in the course of which he fell in with Rodrigo de Carvajal, who gave him an account of the situation of affairs at Panama, and recommended the propriety of using judicious measures against that place, as it was provided for defence. Hinojosa accordingly appeared before Panama with eleven ships and two hundred and fifty soldiers. At this time there were more than five hundred men

18 By Garcilasso de la Vega, this son of Gonzalo Pizarro is named Rodrigo Mexia; but Zarate could hardly be mistaken in giving that name to one of his conductors.--E.

men in Panama, all tolerably well armed, who were drawn out under the command of Casaos to oppose the landing of the Pizarrians. But among these there were many merchants and tradesmen, little adapted for war, who hardly knew how to use their weapons, and many of whom were even unable to fire off a musquet. Many among them had no intention of fighting or of opposing the descent of the insurgents of Peru, whose arrival they were disposed to consider as more advantageous than prejudicial. The merchants expected to be able to sell their commodities, and the tradesmen were in hope of procuring profitable employment, each according to his occupation. Besides, the rich merchants had partners or factors who resided in Peru, and had charge of their most valuable effects; and were afraid, if they concurred in opposing Hinojosa, that Gonzalo Pizarro might revenge himself by seizing their goods and maltreating their partners and factors. Those who were principally inclined to oppose the landing of Hinojosa, were Pedro Casaos the governor, Guzman and Yllanez the captains belonging to the viceroy, Arias de Azevedo, Juan Fernandez de Rebollido, Andrew de Arayza, Juan de Zabala, Juan Vendrel, and some other considerable inhabitants of Panama; some from principles of loyalty, others from fear of future evils, lest Hinojosa might act with the same violence as had been done by Bachicao.

Finding himself resisted, Hinojosa landed with two hundred men about two leagues from Panama, towards which place he marched close along the shore, being protected on one flank by a range of rocks from the attack of cavalry, and on the other by the boats of his squadron armed with some pieces of artillery. Fifty of his soldiers were left on board for the defence of the ships, and orders were given to hang up Vela Nunnez and the other prisoners whenever the enemy were seen to attack him. Casaos marched with all his troops from Panama to meet Hinojosa, with the determination of giving battle: But when the hostile parties were almost within musquet shot and ready to engage, the whole priests and monks of Panama interposed between in procession, having their crucifixes veiled and every other demonstration of mourning, and prevailed on both sides to agree to a truce for that day, that endeavours might be used to bring about an accommodation. For this purpose negociators were appointed on both sides; Don Balthasar de Castilia, son of the Conde

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de Gomera, was named by Hinojosa, and Don Pedro de Cabrera on the part of Casaos, and hostages were mutually interchanged.

The deputy of Hinojosa affected to be astonished at the opposition of the governor and inhabitants of Panama, since he not only meant no harm to any one, but had come expressly to repair the injuries which had formerly been done by Bachicao, to purchase such provisions and clothing as they wanted, and to repair their ships; declaring that their only object was to oblige the deposed viceroy to return to Spain, pursuant to the orders of the royal audience, as his continuance in the country occasioned perpetual discord in Peru. But, as the viceroy was not there, Hinojosa intended to make only a short stay in the place, having orders from Gonzalo to offer no injury to any one unless attacked, in which case he must defend himself as he best could. The opposite party alleged that the presence of Hinojosa in warlike guise was sufficient to excite suspicion; since, even allowing the government of Gonzalo in Peru to be legitimate as they pretended, he had no jurisdiction in Panama, and had no right to direct the proceedings of any one at that place. That Bachicao had formerly come among them under pretence of peace, yet had committed all those violences and injuries, which Hinojosa now pretended he was come to repair. After a long conference, it was at length agreed that Hinojosa should be permitted to take up his residence in Panama for thirty days, accompanied by fifty soldiers to serve as a guard for his personal safety; but that the fleet and all the other soldiers of his party should repair to the Pearl Islands, where workmen and all necessaries for the reparation of the ships could be procured; and that at the expiry of these thirty days, Hinojosa and his armament were to return to Peru.

On the conclusion of this convention, which was confirmed by mutual oaths and the interchange of hostages, Hinojosa took up his residence in Panama with a guard of fifty picked men, and hired a house in which he kept open table for every one who pleased to visit him, all of whom he allowed to divert themselves in play or otherwise as they pleased. By this procedure, he gained over most of the soldiers of Yllanez in a few days, and many other idle fellows joined themselves secretly to his party. It was even said that all these men had previously engaged by letter to have gone over to him

if he and the governor had come to a battle on the former occasion. Indeed the governor and other principal persons of Panama had been chiefly induced to agree to the present accommodation by distrust of their soldiers, who were all eager for an opportunity of getting to Peru. By the above-mentioned means, Hinojosa soon saw himself at the head of a considerable body of troops, while the captains Yllanez and Guzman were almost deserted by all their men. As they saw likewise that the convention was in other respects ill observed, they secretly withdrew with fifteen men who yet remained, and endeavoured to get to Carthagena. Yllanez was taken soon afterwards by one of Hinojosas officers; on which he entered into the service of Gonzalo Pizarro, and was afterwards engaged on that side in the engagement at Nombre de Dios against Verdugo, to be afterwards related. Hinojosa continued to reside in Panama, where no one dared to oppose him. He increased the number of his troops from day to day, and kept them under excellent discipline, without allowing them to do injury to any of the inhabitants; neither did he intermeddle in any thing whatever except what concerned his troops. At this time Don Pedro de Cabrera and his son-in-law Hernan Mexia de Guzman, who had been banished from Peru by the viceroy, resided in Panama; and these two gentlemen were sent by Hinojosa, with a party of soldiers, to keep possession of the port of Nombre de Dios, which was of great importance to his security, and whence he might receive early intelligence from Spain and other places.

Melchior Verdugo, an inhabitant of the city of Truxillo, was one of the richest men in Peru, being proprietor of the entire province of Caxamarca. On the arrival of the viceroy Blasco Nunnez Vela, Verdugo, who was originally from the same city in Spain, engaged heartily in his service, and continued in his suite at Lima, till the time when the viceroy proposed to dismantle that city and retire to Truxillo. At that period he commanded Verdugo to go before, that he might secure possession of Truxillo, with orders to levy soldiers and provide arms; and Verdugo accordingly embarked all his baggage and effects, intending to have set sail on the very day when the viceroy was imprisoned. As all the vessels at the port of Lima were then detained, Verdugo was unable to proceed; and, as Verdugo was particularly obnoxious to Gonzalo and his partizans, on account of his known attachment to the viceroy, he was one of the twenty-five who were committed

committed to prison by Carvajal on his arrival at Lima, when De Baro and several others were hanged, as formerly related. For a long while afterwards he was in continual danger of being put to death; but at length Gonzalo granted him a pardon, though he still entertained suspicions of his conduct, but had no convenient opportunity of getting rid of him, till the departure of Carvajal against Centeno, when it was proposed by the lieutenant-general to have surprised him while at Truxillo, as formerly mentioned: But having some suspicions of his intention, Verdugo saved himself by flight, and concealed himself among his Indians in the province of Caxamarca.

After Carvajal quitted Truxillo, Verdugo returned to that city; but as he expected Gonzalo might soon become master of that place, and would make him feel the effects of his displeasure, he resolved to abandon the country, yet wished to do it in such a manner as might distress Gonzalo as much as possible. While waiting a favourable opportunity for this, he made every preparation in his power for his intended enterprize, collecting as many men in his service as he possibly could, and employed workmen secretly to construct musquets, iron chains, fetters, and manacles. At this time a vessel arrived from Lima in the harbour of Truxillo, on which Verdugo sent for the master and pilot, under pretence of purchasing some of their commodities; and on their arrival at his house he confined them in a deep dungeon which he had previously prepared. After this, he returned to his chamber, causing his legs to be swathed with bandages, under pretence of certain malignant warts or ulcers to which he was subject, and sat down at one of his windows which looked towards the public square in which the magistrates and principal inhabitants used to assemble every day. When the magistrates came as usual to the square, he requested them to come into his house, as he wished to execute certain deeds in their presence, and the disorder in his legs rendered him unable to go out. Immediately on entering, he caused them to be carried into the dungeon, where they were deprived of their badges of office and put in chains. Leaving them under the guard of six musqueteers, he returned to the window of his chamber, whence he gradually enticed about twenty of the principal citizens into his house, all of whom he put in chains and fetters. He then went out into the city accompanied by a guard of soldiers, and proclaimed the king with much loyal

solemnity,

solemnity, making prisoners of all who presumed to oppose him; which were very few, as Gonzalo had carried off most of the inhabitants on his expedition to Quito. Having thus made himself master of the city, and returned to his house, he addressed his prisoners, whom he reviled for having embraced the party of Gonzalo, and declared that he was resolved to withdraw from under the usurpation of the tyrant to join the viceroy, and meant to take along with him all the men and arms he was able to procure. For this purpose, he demanded that all his prisoners should contribute in proportion to their abilities, as it was quite reasonable they should give assistance to the royal cause, having frequently made large contributions to the usurper. He insisted therefore that every one of them should instantly subscribe for such sums as they were able to furnish, all of which were to be paid immediately, as he was otherwise resolved to carry them all along with him as prisoners. Every one of them accordingly agreed to advance such sums of money as they were able to procure, which were all instantly paid.

Having brought this contrivance to a favourable issue, Verdugo made an agreement with the master and pilot of the vessel, and had every thing that could be useful or necessary carried on board. He then carried all his prisoners in irons in carts or waggons to the shore, and embarked with about twenty soldiers, and a considerable sum of money, partly exacted from the inhabitants, partly from the royal funds belonging to the city, and partly from his own extensive revenues. Leaving his prisoners still in fetters on the carriages, to be liberated as they best might, he set sail along the coast to the northwards. In the course of his voyage he fell in with and captured a vessel belonging to Bachicao, containing a great deal of valuable articles which that officer had acquired by plunder in Tierra Firma, all of which Verdugo divided among his soldiers. He at first inclined to have landed at Buenaventura, on purpose to join the viceroy; but considering the small amount of his force, and the danger of falling in with the fleet of Gonzalo Pizarro, he directed his course for the province of Nicaragua, where he landed and applied to the principal persons there for assistance against the usurper. Finding small encouragement in that quarter, he addressed himself to the royal audience, which was established on the frontiers of Nicaragua, who promised him protection and aid, and sent for that purpose one of their number, the

oydor Ramirez de Alarcon to Nicaragua, with orders to the inhabitants of that city to hold themselves in readiness to march with their arms and horses.

Intelligence was soon received at Panama of the exploit of Verdugo at Truxillo, and his having gone to Nicaragua; and as Hinojosa suspected he might increase his force in that province so as to be enabled to disturb him in the possession of the Tierra Firma, he sent Alfonso Palamino with two ships and an hundred and eighty musqueteers to endeavour to dislodge Verdugo. Palamino easily took possession of the ship belonging to Verdugo; but as the inhabitants of Grenada and Leon, the two principal cities in the province of Nicaragua assembled in arms, under Verdugo and the licentiate Ramirez, to oppose his landing, and were much superior in number to his troops and provided with cavalry, he found himself unable to land with any prospect of success. After waiting some time in vain, he was obliged to sail back to Panama, taking several vessels along with him which he had captured on the coast, and burning several others which he could not carry away.

On the departure of Palomino, Verdugo levied about an hundred well armed men, with whom he resolved to give as much interruption as possible to the schemes of the insurgents in the Tierra Firma. With this view he determined to make an attempt on Nombre de Dios, which he learnt was occupied only by a small detachment, which had no suspicion of being attacked. For this purpose, he fitted out three or four small vessels, in which he embarked his troops on the lake of Nicaragua, whence he descended into the gulf of Mexico by the river Chagre, which discharges the waters of that lake into the Atlantic. Fnding some trading vessels at the mouth of that river, he received accurate information from their commanders of the state of affairs in Nombre de Dios, the number of the soldiers which occupied that place, and the different quarters in which they were lodged. Taking some of these mariners along with him as guides, he contrived to arrive at Nombre de Dios undiscovered about midnight, and went immediately to the house of Juan de Zabala, in which the captains Pedro de Cabrera and Hernan Mexia were quartered with some soldiers; who, roused by the noise, put themselves in a state of defence. Verdugo and his people set the house on fire, so that Mexia and his soldiers, who defended the staircase, were

were constrained to rush from the house to save themselves from the flames; and as the night was exceedingly dark, they escaped unseen, and saved themselves in the woods near Nombre de Dios, whence they escaped across the isthmus to Panama.

Hinojosa was much chagrined at this exploit, and determined on revenge; but as he wished to give his conduct on the occasion some appearance of justice, he directed some of the inhabitants of Nombre de Dios to enter a regular accusation before the Doctor Ribera, the governor of that place, giving an exaggerated account of the insolent invasion of his government by Verdugo, who without any just pretence, had levied contributions, imprisoned the magistrates, and invaded the town of Nombre de Dios on his own private authority. They were likewise instructed to request Ribera to march in person to chastise the insolence of Verdugo, and Hinojosa offered to accompany him on this expedition with his troops. Ribera, who appears to have been then resident in Panama, agreed to all that was desired, and accepted the proffered military aid to drive Verdugo from his government; on which Hinojosa and his officers swore to obey his orders as their commander on this expedition, and the troops were put in motion to march across the isthmus. On receiving notice of the approach of Hinojosa, Verdugo disposed his troops to defend the place, and caused the inhabitants of Nombre de Dios to take up arms, in addition to his own men. But as it was obvious that the inhabitants shewed no inclination for fighting, Verdugo suspected they might abandon him while engaged, and came therefore to the resolution of abandoning the town, and took post on the shore near his small barks. He waited for Hinojosa in that situation, having some boats in his rear, which he had seized to enable him to secure his retreat in case of necessity. Immediately on his arrival, Hinojosa attacked Verdugo, and several persons were killed at the first brunt. As the inhabitants of Nombre de Dios who were along with Verdugo, observed their governor acting as commander of the adverse party, they withdrew on one side from the engagement into an adjoining wood; by which the soldiers belonging to Verdugo were thrown into disorder, and they were forced to take to their boats and retreat on board their barks.

After this repulse, Verdugo took possession of several ships that lay at anchor near Nombre de Dios, the largest of which

which he armed with some pieces of artillery and endeavoured to cannonade the town. But finding that he could do very little injury to the place, which was situated in a bottom, and as he was in want of provisions, and most of his soldiers had been left on shore, he retired with his small vessels and the ship he had seized to Carthagena, to await a more favourable opportunity of annoying the insurgents. Having restored Nombre de Dios to order, Ribera and Hinojosa left a sufficient garrison in the place, under the command of Don Pedro de Cabrera and Hernan Mexia, and returned to Panama, where they proposed to wait for such orders as might be sent from Spain respecting the troubles in Peru.

On arriving at Popayan, as formerly related, the viceroy collected all the iron which could be procured in the province, erected forges, and procured workmen, so that in a short time he got two hundred musquets constructed, besides other arms both offensive and defensive, and provided every other species of warlike stores. Learning that the governor, Benalcazar, had detached a brave and experienced officer, named Juan Cabrera, to reduce some refractory Indians, with an hundred and fifty soldiers; the viceroy wrote a letter to Cabrera, in which he he gave a detailed account of the insurrection and usurpation of Gonzalo Pizarro, and of his own determination to restore the kingdom of Peru to allegiance whenever he could collect a sufficient number of troops for that purpose. He earnestly intreated therefore, that Cabrera would immediately join him at Popayan with all his men, that they might commence their march together for Quito, to punish the rebellious usurper. To induce compliance, he represented in strong colours to Cabrera, the great and signal service which he had in his power to perform for the sovereign on this occasion; which likewise would be far more advantageous to his own personal interests, than any which could accrue from the expedition in which he was now engaged; as, on the defeat of Pizarro, he would be entitled to partake in the distribution of the lands belonging to Gonzalo and his partizans, and he might depend on being gratified with ample possessions for himself and his followers in the best districts of Peru. Farther to encourage Cabrera, the viceroy informed him of the events which had lately occurred in the south of Peru, where Centeno had erected the royal standard at the head of a respectable force; so that the present

sent conjuncture was extremely favourable for an attack on Gonzalo, who could hardly resist when pressed from both extremities of the kingdom at once; and besides, that the inhabitants of Peru were now quite weary of the tyrannical violence and extortion of Gonzalo, and would doubtless revolt against him on the first favourable opportunity. As an additional inducement to Cabrera to join him, the viceroy sent him an order by which he was authorized to take from the royal coffers at Carthagena, Encelme, Cali, Antiochia, and other places, to the extent of 30,000 pesos for the pay and equipment of his troops; and as Cabrera acted under the orders of Benalcazar, he procured letters to him from that governor by which he was commanded immediately to obey the requisition of the viceroy. On receiving these dispatches, Cabrera immediately secured the funds which he was authorized to take, which he divided among his men, and set out with all possible expedition to join the viceroy at Popayan with an hundred well appointed soldiers. The viceroy had likewise sent orders for reinforcements from the new kingdom of Grenada, the province of Carthagena, and other places, so that his troops daily increased; and having learnt the capture of his brother Vela Nunnez, and the loss of Yllanez and his troops, he had no expectation of procuring any additional reinforcements.

At this time, Gonzalo Pizarro was very anxious to devise some stratagem for inveigling the viceroy into his hands, as he considered his usurpation unsafe so long as that officer remained alive and at the head of a military force. With this view, that the viceroy might return into Peru where he might have it in his power to bring him to action, Gonzalo gave out that he intended to proceed to Las Charcas at the southern extremity of Peru, to repress the disorders occasioned by Centeno, leaving Captain Pedro de Puelles at Quito with three hundred men to oppose the viceroy. He proceeded even ostensibly to take such measures as were proper for executing this design; selecting such troops as were to accompany himself to the south, and those who were to remain at Quito; even distributing money to both divisions, and set off on his march for the south after a general muster and review of his army. Gonzalo contrived that intelligence of these proceedings should be conveyed to the viceroy, by means of a spy in the employment of that officer, who had betrayed his trust, and had even communicated to Gonzalo the

the cypher which he used in corresponding with his employer. Gonzalo made this person send intelligence to the viceroy of these pretended motions; and Puelles wrote likewise to some friends in Popayan, as if privately to inform them that he was left in the command at Quito with three hundred men, with which he believed himself able to resist all the force the viceroy might be able to bring against him; and these letters were sent purposely in such a manner that they might fall into the hands of the viceroy. Gonzalo likewise took care to spread these reports among the Indians who were present at the review, and who, having seen Gonzalo set off on his march to the south, were perfectly acquainted with the number of troops which accompanied him on the march, and of those which remained under Puelles at Quito. To give the greater appearance of truth to these reports, Gonzalo actually set out on his march; but halted at two or three days journey from Quito, under pretence of falling sick.

On receiving intelligence of these circumstances, which he implicitly believed, the viceroy determined to march from Popayan to Quito, satisfied that he should be easily able to overpower the small force left there under Puelles, who had no means of being reinforced. He accordingly began his march, during which he was unable to procure any intelligence whatever respecting Gonzalo and his troops, so carefully were all the passes guarded to prevent either Christians or Indians from conveying advices on the road towards Popayan: While, on the contrary, Gonzalo procured regular notice of every step taken by the viceroy, by means of the Indians called *Cagnares*, a cunning and intelligent race. Accordingly, when the viceroy was arrived within a few days march of Quito, Gonzalo returned thither with his troops to join Puelles, and they marched together to meet the viceroy, who was then at Oravalo about twelve leagues from Quito. Although the viceroy was at the head of eight hundred men, and his force increased daily on his approach to Quito, Gonzalo confided in the valour and experience of his troops, among which were many of the principal persons in Peru, his soldiers being inured to war, accustomed to hardships and fatigue, and full of confidence in themselves from the many victories they had gained. Gonzalo did every thing in his power to satisfy his troops of the justice of the cause in which he and they were engaged; representing to them that Peru had been

conquered

conquered by him and his brothers; recalling to their remembrance the cruelties which had been exercised by the viceroy, particularly in putting to death the commissary Yllan Suarez and several of his own captains. In the next place, he gave an exaggerated picture of the tyrannical conduct of the viceroy during the whole period of his government, owing to which he had been deposed by the royal audience, and sent out of the country to give an account to the king of his conduct: Instead of which, he now endeavoured to disturb the colony by sowing dissensions and encouraging insurrections, and had even levied an army in other provinces, with which he intended to reduce the country under his tyrannous rule, and to ruin all its inhabitants. After a long speech, by which he endeavoured to animate his troops with resentment against the viceroy, they all declared their readiness to march against him and bring him to battle. Some were actuated by interested motives, to prevent the enforcement of the obnoxious regulations; others by a desire of avenging private injuries; and others again by the fear of punishment for having taken up arms. But it is not to be concealed, that the majority acted from dread of the severity of Gonzalo and his officers, who had already put several persons to death, merely for having shewn some degree of coldness or disinclination towards the cause of the insurgents.

On reviewing and mustering his force, Gonzalo found himself at the head of 180 well mounted cavalry, 200 musqueteers, and 350 armed with pikes, or near 700 in all, with abundance of excellent gun-powder [19]. Learning that the viceroy had encamped on the banks of the river about two leagues from Quito, Gonzalo advanced to meet him. Juan de Acosta and Juan Velez de Guevara were his captains of musqueteers, Hernando Bachicao commanded the pikemen, and the horse were led by Pedro de Puelles and Gomez de Alvarado. On this occasion there was no person appointed to the office of major-general, the duties of which Gonzalo chose to execute in person. He detached seventy of his cavalry to occupy a ford of the river, by which he meant to cross over towards the camp of the viceroy, over whom he expected to gain an easy victory.

19 According to Garcilasso, the army of Gonzalo on this occasion amounted to 700 men, 200 of whom were armed with firelocks, 350 with pikes, and 150 were cavalry. In the History of America, II. 375, the force under the viceroy is only stated at 400; but both in Zarate and Garcilasso the royalists are mentioned as 800 strong.—E.

victory. It was now Saturday the 15th of January 1546, and the two armies remained all night so near each other that the advanced posts were able to converse, each calling the other rebels and traitors, those on each side pretending that they only were loyal subjects to the king.

At this time, Gonzalo Pizarro was accompanied by the licentiate Benedict Suarez de Carvajal brother to the commissary Yllan Suarez de Carvajal who had formerly been put to death at Lima in presence of the viceroy. At that former period Benedict was on his journey from Cuzco to Lima, intending to have joined the viceroy against Gonzalo, and had arrived within twenty leagues of Lima when he learnt the murder of his brother, after which he dared not to trust himself in that city until the viceroy had been deposed and sent on board ship. He was afterwards made prisoner by Gonzalo, who was even on the point of putting him to death; but on setting out for Quito, Gonzalo took him into favour. Carvajal now followed him with good will against the viceroy, upon whom he was eager to take signal vengeance for the unmerited death of his brother; and was even followed on this occasion by about thirty of his friends and relations, who formed a separate company under his immediate command.

The viceroy had arrived at a village called Tuza, about twenty leagues from Quito, when he learnt that Gonzalo Pizarro was reurned to that city, and was now at the head of about seven hundred men. Believing himself however in sufficient force to attempt the recovery of his authority in Peru, the viceroy communicated this intelligence to his principal officers, whom he commanded to have every thing in readiness for battle. On his arrival at the river within two leagues of Quito, and in presence of the enemy who occupied the slope of a hill on the other side, he determined to endeavour to get into their rear, for which purpose he advanced with his troops by a road in a different direction from that on which the insurgents were posted, expecting to derive great advantages from this measure, as the whole infantry of Gonzalo, which formed his principal force, were posted on the the slope of the hill directly in front, and his rear-guard of cavalry could have no suspicion of being liable to attack. The viceroy accordingly began his march on the night of the 15th January, leaving his camp standing with all his Indians and dogs, and with fires burning in many places, to deceive the enemy

enemy into a belief that he still remained in the camp. Marching therefore in perfect silence by the road which had been pointed out to him for gaining the rear of the insurgents, he expected to have attained his object before day: But as the road had not been frequented for a long time, he encountered so many obstructions and difficulties, in consequence of the road being broken up in many places, that when day broke he was still a league from the enemy, by which all hope or opportunity of surprizing them was entirely lost. In this dilemma, he came to the resolution of marching straight upon Quito, in which there were very few to oppose him, and which was in no situation to give any resistance. He was in hopes of finding several loyal subjects in that place, who might have contrived to elude following the usurper to the field, and might now join his army, and he expected to find some arms and military stores left there by Gonzalo. On arriving at Quito, the soldiers of the viceroy learnt that Gonzalo was present with all his troops, which circumstance had hitherto been carefully concealed from their knowledge.

In the morning of the 16th, the scouts of Gonzalo were surprised to hear so little noise in the camp of the viceroy; and having cautiously advanced, they learnt from the Indian followers of the royalist army in what manner the viceroy had passed the insurgents during the night. The scouts therefore made haste to apprize Gonzalo of this event, who learnt soon afterwards by messengers from Quito that the viceroy had taken possession of that city. Gonzalo therefore immediately marched for Quito, determined to give battle to the viceroy without delay; and although the viceroy was perfectly aware of the advantages possessed by Pizarro in the superior discipline and equipment of his troops, he courageously resolved to run the risk of battle, and even to expose himself personally to all its dangers. In this determination, he boldly marched from the city of Quito directly towards the enemy, as if assured of gaining a victory. To Don Alfonzo de Montemayor, who commanded his first company with the royal standard, he assigned the office of lietenant-general, commanding every one to obey him in that capacity. Cepeda and Bazan led the cavalry, and Ahumada carried the great standard. Sancho Sanchez de Avila, Hernandez Giron, Pedro Heredia, and Rodrigo Nunnez de Bonilla were captains of infantry, over which Juan de Cabrera commanded as major-general. The viceroy was earnestly requested by all his officers not to

engage

engage in the front of battle as he intended, but to take post in the rear with fifteen horsemen, whence he might send succours to wherever they might be required; yet, when the engagement was about to commence, the viceroy rode up to the vanguard, and took his place beside the lieutenant-general, Don Alfonzo, in front of the royal standard. On this occasion the viceroy was mounted on a grey horse, dressed in an upper garment of white muslin, with large slashes, shewing an under vest of crimson satin fringed with gold. Just before beginning the engagement, he addressed his troops to the following effect: "I do not pretend, my loyal friends, to encourage you by my words and example, as I rather look for an example of bravery from your courageous efforts, and am fully convinced you will do your duty as brave and faithful subjects of our gracious sovereign. Knowing therefore your inviolable fidelity to the king our common master, I have only to say that we are engaged in the cause of God." These last words he repeated several times, exclaiming, "It is the cause of God! It is the cause of God!"

After this short exhortation, the viceroy with Don Alfonzo and Bazan advanced to the charge, being opposed on the other side by the licentiate Carvajal. Gonzalo Pizarro had likewise intended to have taken post in the front of battle, but his officers insisted upon his remaining in the rear with eight or ten horsemen. In the first charge the cavalry shivered their lances, after which they continued to fight obstinately with swords, battle-axes and war-clubs or maces. In this part of the battle the cavalry of the viceroy were much galled by a line of musqueteers of the adverse army which plied them in flank. While fighting bravely, the viceroy beat down one of the insurgents named Montalva; but immediately afterwards received so severe a blow on the head with a battle-axe from Ferdinand de Torres, that he fell stunned from his horse. Indeed, both he and his horse had been so excessively fatigued by the difficult march of the preceding night, in which they had neither been able to take food or rest, that they were both easily overthrown. While this was passing with the cavalry of the van, the infantry on both sides advanced to engage, setting up such loud shouts, that one would have believed them much more numerous than they were in reality. Juan de Cabrera was slain at the very commencement of this part of the battle. Sancho de Avilla, advanced boldly at the head of his company to attack the

 enemy,

enemy, brandishing a two-handed sword, which he employed with so much strength and address that he soon broke through and defeated half of the company by which he was opposed. But as the soldiers of Pizarro were more numerous in this part of the field than those who followed Avilla, he was surrounded on all sides, and he and most of his men slain. Until the death of the viceroy was known, the battle was very bravely contested by his infantry; but as soon as the knowledge of that unfortunate event had spread through their ranks, they lost heart and relaxed in their efforts, and were soon entirely defeated with considerable slaughter. At this time, the licentiate Carvajal observed Pedro de Puelles about to end the life of the unfortunate viceroy, already insensible and almost dead in consequence of the blow he had received from De Torres and a wound from a musquet ball: Carvajal immediately dismounted and cut off his head, saying, "That his only object in joining the party of Gonzalo was to take vengeance for the death of his brother."

When the victory was completely decided, Gonzalo Pizarro ordered a retreat to be sounded to recal his troops who were engaged in pursuit of the enemy. In this battle, the royalists lost about two hundred men, while only seven were slain on the side of the victors. Pizarro ordered the slain to be buried on the field of battle, and caused the bodies of the viceroy and Sancho de Avilla to be carried to Quito, where they were buried with much solemn pomp, attending himself at the funeral and in mourning[20]. He soon afterwards ordered ten or twelve of the principal royalists to be hanged, who had taken shelter in the churches of Quito, or had concealed themselves in other places. The oydor Alvarez, Benalcazar governor of Popayan, and Don Alfonzo de Montemayor, were wounded and made prisoners in the battle. Gonzalo intended to have ordered Don Alfonzo to be beheaded; but as he had many friends among the insurgents who interceded for his life, and who assured Gonzalo that he could not possibly recover from his wounds, he was spared. Some time afterwards, Gomez de Alvarado sent notice to Benalcazar that it was intended to administer poison to these

three

20 This authentic circumstance by no means agrees with the assertion in the History of America, II. 376, that the head of the viceroy was affixed on the public gibbet in Quito. From the text of Zarate, this battle appears to have been fought on the 16th January 1546. In the History of America, it is dated on the 18th; but the difference is quite immaterial.—E.

three prisoners in the dressings applied to their wounds or in their food; and accordingly he and Don Alfonzo took great precautions to avoid this treachery. As the oydor Alvarez was lodgèd in the same house with his brother judge Cepeda, he had not in his power to use similar precautions, and died soon after; and every one believed that he was poisoned in some almond soup.

Finding that he could not get secretly rid of Don Alfonzo as he wished, and having no hope of gaining him over to his party, Pizarro resolved to banish him into Chili, above a thousand leagues from Quito, and to send to the same place Rodrigo de Bonilla the treasurer of Quito, and seven or eight other persons of importance, who had always faithfully accompanied the viceroy under every change of fortune. Gonzalo did not put these men to death, as several of his own partizans interceded for their lives; and he did not deem it prudent to keep them near his person, or to permit them to remain in Peru. These exiles were accordingly sent off for Chili, under the charge of Antonio de Ulloa with a party of soldiers. After a march of more than four hundred leagues, mostly on foot, although their wounds were not entirely healed, these prisoners determined to make an effort to recover their liberty, or to lose their lives in the attempt. They accordingly rose against Ulloa and his men with so much courage and resolution that they succeeded in making him and most of his men prisoners. Being near a sea-port, they contrived by great address to gain possession of a vessel, in which were several soldiers and others of the insurgent party whom they overpowered; and leaving all their prisoners, they embarked without either sailors or pilot, and though none of them were in the least acquainted with navigation, they had the good fortune to reach New Spain.

Not satisfied with wreaking his vengeance on those of his enemies who had fallen into his hands in consequence of the victory of Quito, Gonzalo sent Guevara to the city of Parto to apprehend some of his enemies who resided in that place, one of whom only was put to death, and all the rest sent into exile. He pardoned Benalcazar, who promised faithfully to become attached to his party, and sent him back to his government of Popayan, with part of the troops he had brought from thence in the service of the viceroy. He likewise assembled all the fugitive troops of the viceroy, to whom he in the first place urged the many causes of displeasure which he had

had for their past conduct, yet pardoned them as he knew they had either been misled or forced to act against him, and promised, if they served him faithfully in the sequel, that he would treat them as well as those who had been on his side from the beginning, and would reward them equally when the country was restored to peace. He sent off messengers in every direction, to announce the victory he had obtained, and to encourage his partizans, so that his usurpation seemed established in greater security than ever. Captain Alarcon was sent to Panama, to communicate the intelligence to Hinojosa, with orders to bring back along with him Vela Nunnez and the others who had been made prisoners in that quarter.

SECTION V.

Continuation of the Usurpation of Gonzalo Pizarro, to the arrival of Gasca in Peru with full powers to restore the Colony to order.

AT this period, some of Gonzalos adherents advised him to send his fleet to scour the coasts of Nicaragua and New Spain, on purpose to take or burn all the vessels which might be found in these parts, by which he would effectually secure himself from any attack by sea. By this means, they alleged, when the dispatches and orders from his majesty should arrive in the Tierra Firma, finding no means of sending these into Peru, the ministers of the crown would be under the necessity of granting him favourable terms of accommodation almost equal to his wishes. Pizarro however had great confidence in the fidelity and attachment of Hinojosa and those who were with him, believing that he might trust implicitly to their vigilance, and refused to follow the measures proposed, as tending to evince too much weakness and want of confidence in the goodness of the cause in which he was engaged. He was besides so puffed up by the victory which he had gained over the viceroy, that he believed himself able to resist any power which could now be brought against him.

Alarcon went accordingly to Panama, whence he brought back to Peru the prisoners who had been taken at that place by Hinojosa, and was accompanied on his return by the son of Gonzalo. When near Puerto Viejo on his voyage back,

 Alarcon

Alarcon ordered Saavedra and Lerma, two of his chief prisoners, to be hanged on account of some words they were said to have spoken against the insurgents. He was disposed to have put Rodrigo Mexia, another of these prisoners, to death at the same time; but the son of Gonzalo pleaded strongly to save his life, by representing how kindly he had been used by Mexia while in his custody. Vela Nunnez was conducted to Quito, where he was pardoned by Gonzalo, yet admonished to behave very carefully for the future, as the slightest suspicion would be fatal. Cepeda, one of the oydors of the royal audience, always continued to accompany Gonzalo, so that Ortiz de Zarate, the only judge who remained in Lima was unable to act in the absence of all the other judges. Indeed he was now less feared, ever since Gonzalo Pizarro had almost by force procured a marriage between one of the daughters of that judge and his brother Blas Soto[1]. Still however this judge retained every proper sentiment of loyalty to the king, although constrained by the exigency of the times to conceal his principles, and to seem in some measure reconciled to the usurper.

While these transactions were going on in the north of Peru, the lieutenant-general Carvajal continued his operations in the south against Centeno. As formerly related, he departed from Cuzco with three hundred men, well provided with horses, musquets and other arms, marching by way of the Colhao for the province of Paria, in which Centeno then was with about two hundred and fifty men, determined to await the arrival of the enemy and to run the chance of battle. When Carvajal was come within about two leagues of that place, Centeno retired a short space to the other side of the city, taking post on the side of a river in what appeared to him strong ground, and Carvajal took possession of the *tambo* of Paria, about a league from the camp of Centeno. Next day, Centeno sent fifteen well mounted musqueteers to bid defiance to Carvajal, and to challenge him to battle. On arriving within a stones throw of the tambo, they required a conference with Carvajal, to whom they delivered the following message: "That Centeno was ready to give battle in the cause of his majesty; but if Carvajal, who had grown old in the royal service, would return to his duty and abandon

1 Of this brother of the Pizarro family, no other notice occurs in Zarate.—E.

don the service of the usurper, Centeno and all his followers would be happy to serve under his command." To this message Carvajal only returned abusive language, and the two parties mutually reproached each other as rebels and traitors. After some time spent in this manner, the fifteen royalists discharged their musquets and returned to Centeno, to whom they gave an account of the number and disposition of the enemy. This occurrence took place on Holy Friday in the year 1546.

Immediately after this defiance, Carvajal put his troops in motion to attack the royalists, but Centeno thought proper to retire to a more advantageous post, not deeming it prudent to run the risk of a pitched battle, and meaning rather to harass the enemy by means of skirmishes and night attacks. He was likewise in hopes that a good many of those who followed Carvajal might come over to his side as opportunity offered, as he understood many of them were much discontented with the harsh and brutal behaviour of the lieutenant-general, whom they served from fear and constraint, not from attachment. Besides, Centeno was unwilling to run the risk of battle, as Carvajal though inferior in cavalry to the royalist party was greatly superior in point of fire arms. In fact this resolution of retreating was much against the inclination of Centeno, who wished to have given battle to Carvajal; but as all the inhabitants of La Plata on his side opposed that measure, he was obliged to conform to their wishes, yet always determined to give battle on the first favourable opportunity. Centeno accordingly retreated fifteen leagues that day, and was followed by Carvajal with great diligence, insomuch that the hostile parties encamped at night very near each other, on which occasion Carvajal confided the guard of his camp to such of his followers as he could most surely depend upon. Towards midnight, Centeno detached eighty horsemen to assault the camp of the insurgents, which they did accordingly with much spirit, making several discharges of their fire arms, but without any favourable impression; as Carvajal drew up his troops in order of battle, and kept them all night in their ranks, strictly forbidding any one to quit their post on any pretence, lest some might desert over to the enemy. At break of day, Centeno decamped and resumed his march, and was followed by Carvajal with equal diligence always very near. In this second day of the retreat the two parties marched ten leagues, or near forty miles; and towards

evening

evening Carvajal came up with one of the soldiers belonging to Centeno, who had lagged behind owing to extreme fatigue. Carvajal ordered him immediately to be hanged, swearing that he would treat every one of the enemy who fell into his hands in the same manner.

Centeno continued always to retreat, and Carvajal to pursue close in his rear, both parties using the utmost possible diligence, insomuch that they every day marched twelve or fifteen long leagues, almost always within sight of each other. After some days, Centeno made a countermarch upon Paria by taking a different road, and even directed his march towards the Collao, always followed by Carvajal. At Hayohayo[2] Carvajal came up with twelve soldiers belonging to Centeno, who had fallen behind, all of whom he ordered to be hanged. In consequence of these continued rapid marches, several of the soldiers of both sides used daily to lag behind from excessive fatigue, all of whom endeavoured to hide themselves as well as they could to avoid being made prisoners. Finding his force daily diminishing, Centeno complained loudly of his officers and followers for having prevented him from fighting; and as he found the whole country through which he now marched attached to the enemy, he determined to direct his march towards the coast intending to escape if possible by sea. For this purpose he took the direction of Arequipa, and sent off one of his officers named Ribadeneyra to endeavour to procure a ship somewhere on the coast, which he was to bring to Arequipa, that it might be in readiness to embark the whole remnant of the retreating party immediately on their arrival[3]. Ribadeneyra fell in with a ship on the coast which was ready to sail for Chili, of which he easily took possession, and found it well adapted for his purpose.

" In the course of this pursuit, it happened one day that Centeno had to pass a deep dell or narrow valley between two mountains, as often happens in that country, the descent to which was about a league from the top to a stream of water in the bottom, yet the hills were so precipitous and close

2 The Callao is a district at the north end of the great lake of Titicaca. Paria and Hayohayo are two towns on the east side of the Rio Desaguadero, which flows from the south into the lake of Titicaca.—E.

3 Arequipa is not less than twenty-five miles from the nearest coast, at which place there is a bay or port named La Guata.—E.

close together that their tops hardly exceeded a musquet shot. As Carvajal was well acquainted with this pass, he was confident of catching his enemy at this place as in a trap; believing that while Centeno was descending to the bottom, he should be able to gain the top of the hill, whence he might greatly annoy Centeno and his men while clambering up the opposite hill. Centeno was however fully aware of his danger, and was accordingly very careful to provide against the mischief which he foresaw might occur. He therefore placed six of his best mounted cavalry in ambush near the top of the first mountain, with directions to assail the rear of Carvajal's troops after the van and main body were past, so as to make a diversion and oblige Carvajal to return to succour his people, by which he and his men would be enabled to get beyond the pass in safety. The ambush accordingly remained concealed until Carvajal and the best part of his troops were gone past; after which they sallied forth, and fell with great resolution on the rear which was marching on in disorder, consisting of a mixed multitude of Indians, Negroes, and straggling Spaniards, with horses mules and other beasts of burden, all in confusion and disorder, among whom they did great execution. Although he heard the noise occasioned by this unexpected assault, Carvajal continued his march for some time, believing it only a false alarm. The six horsemen therefore continued their assault almost unopposed, carrying all before them, and doing incredible mischief. Among the rest they overthrew a loaded mule which carried several quintals of gun-powder, which they blew up with so violent a noise that Carvajal was convinced of the serious nature of the assault, and found it necessary to desist from the pursuit of Centeno, and to return for the protection of his rear. When the six horsemen belonging to Centeno observed the approach of the troops of Carvajal, they immediately fled by cross ways and bye paths, under the guidance of some friendly Indians, and rejoined Centeno six or seven days afterwards. By this successful stratagem Centeno was enabled to escape across the dangerous pass, and even gained considerably in the retreat, as Carvajal was obliged to remain on the top of the first mountain all the rest of that day and the following night. Carvajal was much displeased at being thus foiled by one so much less experienced than he in the art of war, and observed to his officers, that during forty years service in the wars of Italy, where he had seen many fine retreats accomplished

plished by the king of France, by Antonio de Leyva, Count Pedro de Navarro, Mark Antony Colona, and other famous captains, he had never seen one so excellently contrived as this by Centeno[4]."

Centeno arrived soon afterwards at Arequipa, and in less than two days Carvajal arrived there in pursuit. As the vessel procured by Ribadeneyra was not come to that part of the coast, and Centeno had not even received notice of its capture, he determined to dismiss his followers, now reduced to eighty men, that they might endeavour to escape separately, being utterly unable to make head against the enemy who was fast approaching. Centeno, accompanied only by two friends, withdrew into the mountains, where he remained concealed in a cave till the arrival of the licentiate Gasca, being all the time supplied with provisions by a friendly cacique. On arriving at the coast of Arequipa, Carvajal was informed that Centeno and his people were dispersed; and hearing that Lope de Mendoza was at no great distance with eight or ten of the royalists, he detached one of his officers with twenty mounted musqueteers in pursuit. Mendoza however fled with so much diligence, that although followed for more than eighty leagues, his pursuers were unable to overtake him, and were at last obliged to return. Mendoza continued his retreat beyond the ridge of the Andes, into the eastern plain of the Rio Plata, where we must leave him for the present to continue the narrative of events in Peru.

Soon after the arrival of Carvajal in Arequipa, the ship which had been seized by Ribadeneyra appeared on the coast, and Carvajal was informed by some of the soldiers of Centeno who remained at Arequipa of the intention of this vessel, and of the signal which had been agreed upon between Centeno and Ribadeneyra. Wishing to gain possession of the vessel, Carvajal concealed twenty musqueteers near the coast, and made the appointed signal. Ribadeneyra at first believed that the signal was made by order of Centeno and sent the boat on shore; but having some suspicions of the actual state of affairs, he directed the people in the boat to be extremely cautious against surprize before venturing on shore. They accordingly refused to land, unless Centeno himself made his appearance; and as this of course could not be complied with,

4 This paragraph, marked by inverted commas, is inserted from Garcilasso de la Vega in the text, as too long for a note.—E.

with, they returned to the ship, with which Ribadeneyra immediately set sail for Nicaragua. As no part of the late force under Centeno remained in the field, Carvajal resolved to take up his residence for some time in the city of La Plata, as he was informed that Centeno and his friends had concealed a large quantity of treasure at that place, and that he might both endeavour to discover that deposit, and might draw as large a sum as possible from the rich mines in that neighbourhood. Carvajal was willing to communicate to Gonzalo a portion of the wealth he expected to acquire in that district, for defraying the expences of the war; but he proposed especially to enrich himself on this occasion, being exceedingly covetous, as has been already remarked. He accordingly went to La Plata, which submitted without resistance, and remained there for a considerable time amassing wealth, till obliged to take the field against Mendoza.

Lope de Mendoza, as already mentioned, made his escape from Arequipa with a small number of followers, and was pursued for a long way. He for some time followed the line of the coast, and after he had eluded the pursuit of the party sent after him by Carvajal, he and his companions resolved so endeavour to penetrate into the government of Diego de Roias on the Rio Plata, as all the country of Peru had universally submitted to the domination of Gonzalo. For this purpose Mendoza followed the same route which Centeno had formerly taken when retreating from Alfonso de Toro; both because he thought his enemies would not pursue him by that road, and because the Indians belonging to Centeno and himself dwelt in that part of the country, and he expected to procure provisions and other assistance from them. While travelling across these deserts, Mendoza met with Gabriel Bermudez, who had accompanied Diego de Roias on his expedition into the country on the Rio Plata. From this person Mendoza was informed of the events which had occurred to the expedition under De Roias, of which the following is an abstract:

Diego de Roias, Philip Gutierrez and Pedro de Heredia, who went upon this expedition, had to fight their way among hostile Indians, in the course of which De Roias was slain. After his death, violent disputes arose between Francisco de Mendoza who succeeded in the command and the other officers engaged in the expedition, in the course of which Gutierrez was cashiered and banished. They continued after this

this to prosecute their discoveries all the way to the Rio Plata, receiving information that great riches were to be found in some districts in the neighbourhood, in which there were certain Spaniards who had penetrated into the country by ascending the Rio Plata from the Atlantic, and had formed establishments in the interior. In prosecuting the exploration of that great river, they had fallen in with some forts which were built by Sebastian Gabota; and reported many other surprizing and wonderful things which they had seen in that country. In the course of their proceedings, Francisco de Mendoza was assassinated by Pedro Heredia, owing to which violent disputes had taken place among them, by which and the smallness of their force they had been rendered unable to proceed in conquering the country, so that at length they had come to the resolution of returning into Peru, that his majesty or the viceroy of that kingdom might nominate a new commander. They were likewise persuaded, when the riches of the country in which they had been came to be known, that they would be able to procure a considerable accession of new adventurers, so as to enable them to atchieve the conquest.

In the course of their expedition they asserted that they had penetrated six hundred leagues to the eastwards of La Plata, through a champaign country of very easy access, and tolerably abounding in provisions and water. Bermudez added, that within a very few days they had learnt, from some Indians who occasionally traded into the province of Las Charcas, of the revolt which had taken place in Peru, but had been unable to procure information respecting the causes of this insurrection or as to who were chiefly engaged in it; for which reason he had been sent on before to inquire into these circumstances, and had received orders from the captains and other principal persons in the expedition, to offer their services to the party that acted for the royal interests, in which cause they might be of material importance, as they had a considerable number of excellent horses and plenty of arms. After the conclusion of this narrative, Mendoza gave Bermudez an account of all the late events in Peru; on which, in virtue of the commission with which he had been entrusted, Bermudez promised in the name of all his companions to march against the lieutenant-general.

Lope Mendoza and Bermudez went after this to meet the troops which were returning from the Rio Plata, which were at no great distance. When they were informed of the si-

tuation of affairs in Peru, they received Lope with every demonstration of respect, and confirmed the offers of assistance which Bermudez had already made in their name, declaring their resolution to devote themselves heartily to the service of the king. Lope de Mendoza gave them hearty commendations for their loyalty, and represented to them how honourable and praiseworthy it was to exert their utmost endeavours in the cause of their lawful sovereign; assuring them that they might all depend upon being amply provided for, when the country was restored to obedience. Lope de Mendoza was unanimously received as their chief, and conducted them to the village of Pocona, about forty leagues to the north-east of La Plata; whence he sent some confidential persons to certain secret places where he and Centeno had hidden above a thousand marks of silver under ground. On recovering this treasure, he proposed to divide it among those persons who had so nobly offered to follow his orders; but most of them refused his proferred bounty, either because they were already sufficiently rich, or because hitherto the soldiers who had been engaged in the wars of Peru had been unused to any regular pay, and only accepted money to answer their immediate wants, and to provide themselves with horses and arms. Even the lowest soldier in those days expected, when the enterprizes of their leaders succeeded, to be rewarded for his services in repartitions or advantageous establishments in the country, by which they flattered themselves to acquire riches, so great was the reputation of the richness of Peru. By means of these men from the Rio Plata, Lope Mendoza found himself unexpectedly at the head of an hundred and fifty well mounted cavalry, all excellently armed and equipped for service. It was a great misfortune to the royal cause, that Centeno was now concealed, instead of having retreated into the interior along with Mendoza as he had done formerly; as if he had now been at the head of the royalists, with this important reinforcement, affairs might have taken a better turn than they actually did.

While Carvajal was on his way from Arequipa for the city of La Plata, he received intelligence of the success of Gonzalo Pizarro at Quito, and that all Peru was entirely reduced under his command. He resolved therefore to repair to La Plata, as formerly mentioned, intending to regulate the affairs of the province of Las Charcas, and to collect treasure. On his arrival however at Paria on his way to La Plata, he received intelligence

intelligence of the arrival of the troops from the Rio Plata and of their junction with Lope Mendoza. Being informed at the same time that these unexpected opponents were by no means united among themselves, and that they marched very carelessly in separate and unconnected detachments, most of which refused to acknowledge any one as their commander, he determined to set out against them with the utmost diligence, that he might fall upon them in their present divided state. Being rejoined by the detachment which had pursued Lope Mendoza, and having put his men in order for a fresh expedition, Carvajal set out from La Plata and marched towards the enemy with the utmost possible speed, encouraging his troops by the assurance of an easy and bloodless victory, even asserting that he had received letters from the principal officers among the enemy in which they offered their services to him, so that they would only have the trouble of marching, without any danger of fighting.

During this march Carvajal was joined by thirty men in addition to his former force, so that he was now at the head of two hundred and fifty men. At length he came in sight of Pocona, which is eighty leagues from Paria, about four o'clock of an afternoon, and made his appearance in good order on the top of a rising ground within view of Lope de Mendoza, who was then making a distribution of money among such of his new companions as were willing to accept his bounty. Mendoza had already got some intimation of the approach of Carvajal; and as his own force consisted entirely of cavalry, most of whom were persons of some consideration, remarkably well mounted and armed, he drew up his men in good order in a plain at some distance from the village, in which he left the baggage and his money; saying, that he trusted through their bravery to be soon able to recover both, and even to increase their store by that belonging to their enemies. Carvajal immediately descended from the hill he had first taken possession of, and took post in the place which Mendoza had just quitted, which was an inclosure of considerable extent surrounded with walls, in which there were openings in several places. Carvajal chose this as a convenient post for the night, in which the enemy would not be able to attack with their cavalry. On learning that Lope de Mendoza and his men had left their baggage in the town of Pocona, the troops of Carvajal immediately quitted their ranks to go in search of plunder, insomuch that Carvajal was left in his camp

camp with hardly eight men. If Mendoza had availed himself of this opportunity to attack Carvajal, he might have gained an easy victory, and might have boasted of having left his baggage exposed to plunder as a stratagem of war, which on similar occasions had often been the cause of signal victories. On purpose to recall his troops to their duty, Carvajal ordered a false alarm to be sounded, which occasioned the return of the greater part of his men; but so strong was their avidity for spoil that most part of the night was spent before they all returned to the camp.

At this time there was a secret conspiracy entered into by many of Carvajals followers, with the intention of putting him to death out of revenge for his harsh and tyrannical conduct towards them, and one Pedro de Avendano, his secretary, in whom he reposed entire confidence was the principal ringleader of the conspirators. To facilitate the execution of this enterprize, Avendano, sent a message by a clever fellow of an Indian to give Mendoza notice of the intentions of the conspirators, and to request he would make an attack upon Carvajals camp in the course of the night, in the confusion attendant upon which he and the other conspirators might have an opportunity of executing their intended plot. Mendoza had previously determined upon withdrawing about four or five leagues from Pocona, to a level plain in which his cavalry would be able to act with much advantage. But on receiving the message of Avendano, he ordered his men to hold themselves in readiness to attack the camp of Carvajal at the going down of the moon, preferring the obscurity of night in order to avoid the danger of the more numerous firearms of the enemy. At that time he advanced in good order towards the enemy, sending some scouts in advance, who made prisoner of one of Carvajals soldiers. After interrogating this man, they advanced to the openings of the wall which surrounded the camp, which they found guarded by some musqueteers and pikemen. Mendoza made a brisk attack, but was bravely resisted by the enemy, and so great was the confusion and noise that it was impossible to enter upon any parley, as no one could be heard by reason of the continual firing and the shouts of the combatants,

Immediately on the alarm, Carvajal used his utmost efforts to get his troops into order and to animate and encourage them to exert themselves against the enemy. At this period, Avendano pointed out Carvajal to a musqueteer who was

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one of the conspirators, and encouraged him to take a steady aim at the lieutenant-general; but owing to the darkness, the shot missed of its intended effect; and only wounded him in one of his thighs. Finding himself wounded, and being satisfied it had been done by one of his own people, Carvajal deemed it prudent to conceal the circumstance for the present; and retired along with Avendano, of whose fidelity he had no suspicion, on purpose to disguise himself in an old brown coat and a shabby hat, that he might not be conspicuous, after which he returned to animate his men to defend the camp. Avendano again pointed him out to another conspirator, who fired a second time at Carvajal, but entirely missed his aim. In the meantime the assailants frequently called out to know if Carvajal were dead; but receiving no answer, and finding that all the avenues to the camp were bravely defended, Lope de Mendoza drew off his men. In this night engagement about fourteen were slain on both sides, and several wounded. Carvajal got his wound secretly dressed, so that none of his people knew that such a thing had happened.

After the cessation of the engagement, one Placentia deserted from Carvajals camp, and informed Mendoza that all the baggage belonging to Carvajal and his troops had been left at a place which he described about five or six leagues from Pocona, among which was a large quantity of gold and silver, several horses, and some musquets and powder. On this information, Mendoza set off immediately with his troops for that place, guided by the deserter; and marching diligently all the remainder of the night, he arrived quite unexpectedly at the place where Carvajal had secured his baggage; but as the night was exceedingly dark, above seventy of his men lost their way and fell behind. Yet, with such of his people as had kept up with him, Mendoza took possession of the whole without any resistance. After this, being sensible that he was not in sufficient force to cope with Carvajal, Mendoza resolved to retreat by way of the desert in which Centeno had formerly taken shelter, which he did accordingly with about fifty men, all the rest of his troops having fallen behind during the night, as already mentioned. In the prosecution of this plan of retreat, Mendoza and his people reached a certain river about two leagues and a half from Pocona, where they halted to take some rest and refreshment after the excessive fatigues of the past night. Carvajal was

soon

soon apprised of the capture of his baggage and the route which Mendoza had taken, and immediately set off in pursuit with about fifty of his best mounted troops; and, using every possible diligence, he came to the place where Mendoza had halted, about noon of the next day, and immediately attacked the royalists, some of whom were asleep, while others were taking food. Thus unexpectedly assailed, and believing that Carvajal was followed by his whole force, the royalists made a feeble resistance, and very soon took to flight, dispersing themselves in every direction. Lope de Mendoza and Pedro de Heredia, with a good many others, were made prisoners; and Carvajal immediately ordered these two chiefs, and six or seven other principal persons among the royalists to be beheaded.

On this occasion Carvajal recovered the whole of his own baggage, and got possession of all that had belonged to the enemy, with all of which and the prisoners he had made, he returned to Pocona, engaging to do no injury to those who had escaped from the soldiers in the late attack, and even restored their horses arms and baggage to his prisoners, most of whom he sent off to join Gonzalo Pizarro. On leaving Pocona, he took Alfonso de Camargo and Luis Pardamo along with him, who had formerly fled along with Mendoza, and whose lives he now spared, as they gave him information respecting a considerable treasure which Centeno had concealed under ground near Paria, and where in fact he discovered above 50,000 crowns. After this, he went with his troops to the city of La Plata, where he proposed to reside for some time. At this place he appointed persons in whom he could confide to the offices of judges and magistrates, and dispatched intelligence of the success of his arms over the whole kingdom of Peru. He remained for some time at La Plata, where he collected treasure from all the surrounding country, under pretence of supplying Gonzalo Pizarro, but in reality he retained much the larger share for himself.

Having thus succeeded in all his enterprizes and established his authority in the south of Peru on such firm foundations that no opposition remained in the whole country, fortune seemed to determine to exalt him to the summit of his desires by the discovery of the richest mines which had ever been known. Some Indians who belonged to Juan de Villareal, an inhabitant of La Plata, happening to pass over a

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very high isolated mountain in the middle of a plain, about eighteen leagues from that city, named Potosi, noticed by some indications that it contained mines of silver. They accordingly took away some specimens of the ore for trial, from which they found that the mineral was exceedingly rich in pure silver; insomuch that the poorest of the ore produced eighty marks of pure silver from the quintal of native mineral [5], being a more abundant production than any that ever had been heard of before. When this discovery became known in the city of La Plata, the magistrates went to the mountain of Potosi, which they divided among the inhabitants of their city, setting up boundary marks to distinguish the allotments of each person in those places which appeared eligible for workings. So great was the resort to these new mines, that in a short time there were above seven thousand *Yanaconas*, or Indian labourers, established in the neighbourhood, who were employed by their Christian masters in the various operations of these mines. These men laboured with so much industry, that each Indian, by agreement, furnished two marks or sixteen ounces of silver weekly to their respective masters; and so rich was the mine, that they were able to do this and to retain an equal quantity to themselves [6]. Such is the nature of the ore extracted from the mineral veins of this mountain, that it cannot be reduced in the ordinary manner by means of bellows, as is customary in other places. It is here smelted in certain small furnaces, called *guairas* by the Indians, which are supplied with a mixed fuel of charcoal and sheeps dung, and are blown up by the

5 This produce is most extraordinarily large, being equal to *four* parts of pure silver from *ten* of ore, or 640 ounces of silver from the quintal or 1600 ounces of ore. At the present time, the silver mines in Mexico, which are the most productive of any that have ever been known, are remarkable for the poverty of the mineral they contain. A quintal or 1600 ounces of ore affording only at an average 3 or 4 ounces of pure silver. The profit therefore of these must depend upon the abundance of ore, and the facility with which it is procured and smelted.—E.

6 The gross amount of this production of silver, on the data in the text, is 11,648,000 ounces yearly; worth, at 5s. 6d. per ounce, L. 3,203,200 sterling; and, estimating silver in those days, at six times its present efficacy, worth L. 19,219,200 of modern value. In the present day before the revolutionary troubles, Humboldt estimates the entire production of gold and silver from Spanish and Portuguese America at L. 9,787,500; only about three times the quantity said to have been at first extracted from Potosi alone, and only about half the effective value.—E.

the wind only, without the use of any mechanical contrivance.

These rich mines are known by the name of Potosi, which is that of the district or province in which the mountain is situated. Owing to the easy labour and great profit experienced by the Indians at these mines, when any of the Yanaconas was once established at this place it was found almost impossible to induce them to leave it or to work elsewhere; and indeed, they were here so entirely concealed from all dangers, and so much exempted from their usual severe drudgery and the unwholesome vapours they had been subjected to in other mines, that they preferred working at Potosi to any other situation. So great was the concourse of inhabitants to Potosi, and the consequent demand for provisions, that the sack of maize was sold for twenty crowns, the sack of wheat for forty, and a small bag of *coca* for thirty dollars; and these articles rose afterwards to a higher price. Owing to the astonishing productiveness of these new mines, all the others in that part of Peru were speedily abandoned. Even those of Porco, whence Ferdinand Pizarro had formerly procured great riches, were left unwrought. All the Yanaconas who had been employed in searching for gold in the province of Carabaya, and in the auriferous rivers in different parts of southern Peru, flocked to Potosi, where they were able to make vastly more profit by their labour than in any other place. From various indications, those who are most experienced in mining believe that Potosi will always continue productive and cannot be easily exhausted [7].

Carvajal did not fail to take advantage of this favourable discovery, and immediately set about the acquisition of treasure for himself by every means which his present uncontroulable power afforded. In the first place, he appropriated to his own use all the Yanaconas, or Indian labourers in the mines, which had belonged to such of the inhabitants as had opposed him, or to those who had died or fled from the province. He likewise appropriated to his own use above 10,000 Peruvian sheep, belonging to the Yanaconas of the crown or

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7 It has however become very much exhausted, and has been in a great measure abandoned. The mines of Lauricocha, in a different part of Peru, are now in greater estimation. But those of Guanaxuato and Zacatecas in Mexico, notwithstanding the poverty of their ore, have been long the most productive of the American mines.—E.

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to individuals, which were employed in transporting provisions for the miners. By these means, he amassed in a short time near 200,000 crowns, all of which he retained to his own use. His soldiers were so much dissatisfied with his conduct, as he gave them no share of his exactions, that they plotted together against him. Luis Pardamo, Alfonso de Comargo, Diego de Balsameda, and Diego de Luxan, with thirty others, who had entered into this conspiracy, had determined to put him to death about a month after his arrival in La Plata from his expedition against Mendoza; but, owing to some obstacles, they had been induced to defer the execution of their enterprize to a future period. By some unknown means the circumstances of this plot came to the knowledge of Carvajal, who put to death the before-mentioned leaders of the conspiracy, and ten or twelve others, and banished all the rest. By these merciless executions, in which he indulged on all occasions, Carvajal inspired so much terror that no one dared in future to make any similar attempt; as he not only punished in the severest manner all who evinced any intention of revolt, but put people to death on the slightest suspicion. Owing to this the loyal servants of his majesty may assuredly be exculpated from the blame which has been imputed to them, for not putting Carvajal to death: In reality, there were many persons sufficiently anxious to have done so, on purpose to escape from the cruel tyranny under which they groaned in secret; and four or five conspiracies were entered into for the purpose, which were all discovered, and occasioned the destruction of at least fifty individuals. By these means every one was terrified from attempting any thing against him, more especially as he gave high rewards to all who communicated any intelligence of the kind, so that all were forced to temporize and to wait in anxious hope of some favourable opportunity to deliver them from his cruel tyranny. Carvajal continued to remain at La Plata, frequently publishing accounts of the successes of Gonzalo Pizarro, to whom he often sent large remittances; derived from his own resources, from the royal fifths which he appropriated, and from the confiscated estates of those whom he put to death, all of which he seized upon, under pretence of supplying funds for prosecuting the war.

From the 18th of January 1546, the day on which he defeated the viceroy, Gonzalo Pizarro continued to reside at Quito till the middle of July of that year, accompanied by a force

force of about five hundred men, occupied in almost continual feastings and revelry. Various reasons were assigned for his long residence in that place; some alleging that it was on purpose to be more at hand for receiving early intelligence from Spain; while others attribute it to the great profits he derived from the gold mines which had been recently discovered in that neighbourhood; and others again alleged that he was detained by attachment to the lady formerly mentioned, whose husband he had procured to be assassinated by Vincente Pablo. That woman was delivered, after the death of her husband, of a child which was put to death by her father; for which inhuman action he was ordered to be hanged by Pedro de Puelles.

During his residence in Quito, Gonzalo Pizarro sent off several detachments of soldiers to different places, giving commissions and instructions to their commanders in his own name as governor of Peru. Among these, the lieutenant Benalcazar was sent back to his former government; having been pardoned and even taken into favour by Gonzalo. A reinforcement was also sent to Pedro de Valdivia who commanded in Chili, under the command of Captain Ulloa, whom he had sent to ask assistance to enable him to continue and maintain his conquests in that country. Other officers and soldiers were sent to other parts, which are unnecessary to be particularized. At length Gonzalo determined to leave Quito, and to establish his residence in Lima; and it has been alleged that he was principally induced to take this step from suspicion of the fidelity of Lorenzo de Aldana, his lieutenant at Lima, who was so much beloved by all the inhabitants of that city as to be almost in condition to have revolted to the royal cause. Gonzalo is said likewise to have been somewhat suspicious of his lieutenant-general Carvajal, being afraid lest he might be so puffed up by the many victories he had gained, and by his immense distance, as to be induced to set up for himself. He accordingly left Quito under the command of Pedro de Puelles, whom he appointed his lieutenant and captain-general in that province, with a force of three hundred men, having great confidence in his attachment ever since he had succoured him when in straits on his march from Cuzco to Lima, and when his army was on the point of abandoning him. He reposed so entirely on Puelles, that he believed, if the king were to send any force against him by the route of the province in which Benalcazar commanded,

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that Puelles would prevent them from being able to penetrate into Peru.

While on his progress from Quito towards Lima, Gonzalo assumed in everything the deportment and authority of governor of Peru, and was treated in every respect as such by all the inhabitants of the country. He seemed to believe that his authority was so well and firmly established that he had nothing to fear from the attempts of his enemies, and that even the king would be obliged to grant him any terms he might require. All his officers soldiers and dependents obeyed and respected him entirely, as if satisfied that they were always to be subject to his authority, and to depend upon him alone for advancement and reward. In the exercise of his usurped authority, he made many grants or repartitions of lands and Indians, all of them for long periods, which every one considered as secure of being continued. He and his principal officers pretended that they frequently received letters from some of the highest of the nobles in Spain, praising his conduct and approving of every thing he had done, which these pretended letters justified on account of the infringements which had been made on the rights and privileges of the colonists. In these letters likewise, the pretended Spanish grandees were made to engage their favour and credit at court to support his interest and authority with the sovereign. The well informed among the followers of Gonzalo Pizarro saw clearly that these letters were mere fabrications to impose upon the vulgar, and had no foundation whatever in truth.

On his arrival at the city of San Miguel, Gonzalo learned that there were a considerable number of Indians in that neighbourhood who had not been reduced under subjection; for which reason he gave orders to establish a military post in the province of *Garrochamba* [8], the command of which he conferred on Captain Mercadillo, with a force of an hundred and thirty men, and gave him instructions for completing the conquest of that district, and for dividing the lands and Indians into repartitions like the rest of the country. At this time likewise, he detached Captain Porcel with sixty soldiers to complete the conquest of the Bracamoros. In these proceedings,

8 No such province or district is now found in the maps of Peru; but it appears to have been on the confines between the northern part of Peru Proper and the southern extremity of Quito, where Valladolid now stands. —E.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

ceedings, he wished it to be believed that his sole object was for the advantage of the colony; but his real purpose was to keep his troops on foot and in employ, in case of needing them at a future period for his own defence in support of his usurpation. Before leaving Quito, Gonzalo sent off the licentiate Carvajal by sea with a party of soldiers, in the ships which Juan Alonzo Palomino had brought from Nicaragua after his pursuit of Verdugo. Carvajal was ordered to proceed along the coast towards Lima, and to settle all the maritime towns in his way in good order.

The licenciate Carvajal after executing the before-mentioned orders, came to Truxillo to meet Gonzalo Pizarro, whence they went together to Lima, accompanied by a force of two hundred men. On approaching Lima, there was a diversity of opinions among the followers of Pizarro, respecting the ceremonies with which he should be received into the capital of Peru. Some of his officers were desirous that the magistracy should come out to meet him with a canopy, under which he should make his entry after the manner usually practised with kings. Some even proposed that a breach should be made in the walls, and some of the houses of the city thrown down, so as to make a new entrance on purpose in memory of his victory over the viceroy, as used to be done anciently in Rome for the reception of triumphant generals. In this, as in all other important affairs, Gonzalo was guided by the advice of the licentiate Carvajal, and entered the city on horseback, preceded by all his captains on foot leading their horses by the bridles. On this occasion he was accompanied by the archbishop of Lima, the bishops of Cuzco and Quito, and the bishop of Bogota, who had come into Peru by way of Carthagena on purpose to receive consecration. He was likewise accompanied by Lorenzo de Aldana, his lieutenant-governor of Lima, and by all the magistrates and inhabitants of the city; no one daring to remain at home lest they might be suspected of disaffection. The streets were all ornamented with green herbs and flowers; all the bells of the churches and monasteries were kept ringing; and the cavalcade was preceded by a numerous band of trumpets kettle-drums and other warlike instruments of music. In this pompous manner, Pizarro was conducted in the first place to the great church, and thence to his own residence.

From this time, Gonzalo Pizarro conducted himself with much more pride and haughtiness than formerly, conceiving

high

high ideas of his own importance from these public ceremonials of respect, as usually happens to men of feeble minds on any sudden elevation. He had a guard for his person of eighty halberdiers, besides several horsemen, who acompanied him wherever he went. No person whatever was permitted to be seated in his presence; and there were very few persons whom he designed to honour so far as to return their salute. By these haughty manners, and still more by his frequent disobliging and even abusive manner of speaking, he displeased every one and became uuiversally disliked. It must likewise be mentioned, that the soldiery, to whom he owed every thing, became exceedingly discontented with him, as he gave them no pay. All this had a powerful influence on his downfall in the sequel; though for the present every one concealed their real sentiments, waiting for a more favourable opportunity.

" Following Garcilasso de la Vega and other authors, the Historian of America [9] alleges that Gonzalo Pizarro was urged by several of his adherents, and in particular by Carvajal, to assume the sovereignty of Peru; to attach the Spaniards to his interest by liberal grants of lands and Indians, and by the creation of titles of nobility similar to those in Europe; to establish military orders of knighthood, with privileges distinctions and pensions, resembling those in Spain, as gratifications to the officers in his service; and to gain the whole body of natives to his service, by marrying the Coya, or Peruvian princess next in relation to the reigning Inca. Thus at the head of the ancient inhabitants of the country and of the colonists, he might set the power of Spain at defiance, and could easily repel any force that might be sent from Spain to such a distance. These counsellors who urged Pizarro to adopt this plan, insisted that he had already gone too far to expect pardon from the emperor; and endeavoured to convince him that all the founders of great monarchies had risen by their personal merit and their own valour, without any pretensions to ancient lineage or valid rights of sovereignty; and that, besides, his family had a strong title to the dominion of Peru, founded on the rights of discovery and conquest. But the inferior talents of Gonzalo circumscribed his ambition within more narrow bounds, and confined his views to the obtaining

9 History of Amcrica, II. 378.

obtaining a confirmation of the authority which he now possessed from the emperor; for which purpose he sent an officer of distinction to Spain, to give such a representation of his conduct and the state of the country, as might induce the court, from inclination or necessity, to continue him as governor of Peru for life. Although Garcilasso de la Vega gives full warrant for this account of the proposals of the insurgents, Zarate, who was then resident in a public character in Peru, makes no mention of any such plan having been agitated, which could hardly have happened without his knowledge: It is probable therefore that these additional circumstances were invented by the enemies of Gonzalo after his fall, on purpose to blacken his memory by the imputation of even deeper crimes than those he was actually guilty of."—E.

SECTION VI.

History of the Expedition of Pedro de la Gasca, the Death of Gonzalo Pizarro, and the Restoration of Peru to Tranquillity.

WHILE these things were transacting in Peru, the emperor Charles V. was residing in Germany, where he had gone on purpose to overthrow the party of the Lutherans and others who had separated from the church of Rome. The emperor was desirous to receive an account of the disturbances in that distant and valuable colony from Diego Alvarez Cueto, the brother-in-law of the late viceroy, and Francisco Maldonado the messenger of Gonzalo Pizarro, both of whom went into Germany for that purpose. At this time, however, though acquainted with the revolt of Peru, the imprisonment of the viceroy, and the usurpation of the government by Pizarro, the court necessarily remained ignorant of the death of the viceroy. Frequent deliberations were held for devising proper remedies to restore tranquillity to Peru; but the matter lay over for some considerable time, in consequence of the absence of the emperor from Spain, and because he was at this time frequently attacked by illness. At length it was determined to send over into Peru the licentiate Pedro de la Gasca, at that time a counsellor of inquisition. The prudent and intelligent character of this man was already well known, from the skill and success with which he had already conducted

ed several affairs of consequence with which he had been entrusted, and particularly by the excellent dispositions and preparations which he had made, only a few years before, to defend the kingdom of Valencia against an expected invasion of the Turks and Moors, and in various matters respecting the new converts in that kingdom, which he took the management of while occupied in some of the affairs of the holy office on which he had been sent thither by the emperor.

The title granted to Gasca on occasion of going into Peru, was only that of president of the royal court of audience. But, by his commision, he was invested with full powers in every thing respecting the government of the country; to pacify the troubles and restore peace; and to pardon as he might see proper all crimes, whether committed before his arrival or during his residence in the country. Along with Gasca, the licentiates Ganas and Renteria went out to Peru, as judges or oydors of the supreme tribunal or royal court of audience. Gasca was likewise furnished with full powers to raise troops in case of necessity, and to do every thing that the exigency of affairs might require, without waiting for orders or instructions from Spain. His powers and orders however were kept secret, as it was wished to attempt the restoration of order by gentle means; for which reason nothing was spoken of but pardon and indemnity, and he was desired to endeavour to restore the colony to peace and tranquillity by means of clemency if possible.

Gasca embarked from Spain in the month of May 1546, on purpose to quell the formidable rebellion which had long subsisted in Peru, without either money or troops, and merely accompanied by such servants and officers of his household as were requisite to support the dignity of his office as president of the high court of audience. On arriving at St Martha, he received information of the defeat of Melchior Verdugo, formerly mentioned, and that Verdugo waited for him at Carthagena with the small remnant of his men who had escaped on that occasion. Knowing that Hinojosa and his people were exceedingly irritated against Verdugo, Gasca resolved to go by way of Nombre de Dios, to prevent the insurgents from entertaining any suspicions of his pacific intentions, as he believed they would prevent him from having any access into the country if he held any intercourse with Verdugo, and still more if he were joined by that obnoxious per-

son. Gasca cast anchor in the harbour of Nombre de Dios on the 27th of July 1546, where Hernan Mexia had been posted by Hinojosa with an hundred and eighty men, to protect that place and neighbourhood against Melchior Verdugo. The president sent on shore Alfonzo de Alvarado, who had accompanied him from Spain, to notify his arrival and the purposes of his mission to Mexia. After some conference, they separated without communicating their real sentiments to each other, as both were suspicious and kept up much reserve. On the return of Alvarado to the ship, Mexia sent to request the president to disembark, which he did accordingly. On this occasion Mexia went to meet him, in a barge attended by twenty musqueteers, leaving the rest of his troops drawn up on the beach. Mexia immediately left his own barge, and accompanied the president in his boat to the shore, where he caused him to be received with every mark of respect, under a salute from the troops.

After landing, the president, in a private conference, gave Mexia an account of the object of his voyage to Peru; on which Mexia expressed his determined resolution to yield implicit obedience to the royal orders, and to devote his services accordingly to the president. He declared, that he had long and anxiously waited the arrival of some person possessing authority to put an end to the troubles; and that, fortunately, circumstances were now extremely favourable for this purpose, without any one to oppose, as he was now the sole commander of most of the troops belonging to Gonzalo Pizarro in that neighbourhood, the greater part of which were now in Nombre de Dios. Mexia said farther that, Hinojosa and the other captains having gone to Panama, he found himself at liberty to declare himself openly for his majesty, if that were judged proper by the president; and that they might then go in company to Panama, where they would easily become masters of the fleet in that port, by means which he explained; and that he was likewise convinced that, when Hinojosa and the other captains were informed of the powers and intentions of the president, they would receive him with all submission. The president thanked Mexia for his good intentions, observing that it was necessary to use lenient measures on this occasion, as his majesty was very desirous to restore the country to peace and good order, without having recourse to warlike measures, if it could possibly be accomplished. As it was obvious to every one, that the chief cause

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of the disturbances was owing to the inflexible rigour of the late viceroy, he wished, therefore, that it might be known by all, that his majesty wished to remedy all grievances in the most gracious manner; and he trusted, therefore, when it was publickly known that all might expect safety and pardon by returning to their duty, that all the colonists would evince their respectful loyalty by tendering their services, rather than continue in rebellion against the sovereign. The president concluded by declaring his resolution to refrain from any endeavour to use force, till all the colonists were apprized of his intentions as now expressed.

Mexia assured the president, that he was ready to obey his orders in all things; yet considered it proper for him to observe, that although he was now able to command the soldiers then at Nombre de Dios; matters might assume a very different aspect on proceeding to Panama, where the soldiers would be under the orders of Hinojosa. The president expressed his determination, however, to proceed in his enterprize, to which Mexia consented; and they mutually agreed to keep their intentions secret till affairs should take a favourable turn, as will be seen in the sequel.

When Hinojosa, who acted as general under Pizarro in the Tierra Firma, learnt the reception which the president had met with from Mexia, he was much dissatisfied, both because he was ignorant of the orders and instructions under which the president acted, and because Mexia had not communicated his intentions. Hinojosa wrote therefore to Mexia in a harsh and peremptory manner, reflecting bitterly on his conduct; and, at the same time, some friends of Mexia, who were then resident in Panama, wrote to dissuade him from coming to that place, as Hinojosa was much irritated against him for the friendly reception he had given to the president. Notwithstanding this, it was agreed upon in a conference between the president and Mexia, that the latter should go immediately to Panama to confer with Hinjosoa, lest the minds of the soldiery should take any adverse turn by delay. Despising the dangers with which he was threatened, and the suspicions that had been endeavoured to be instilled into his mind, Mexia set out for Panama, confiding in the friendship which subsisted between him and Hinojosa, and in his knowledge of the character and dispositions of that officer. In an interview with Hinojosa, he fully explained the reasons of his conduct in receiving the president; adding, that whatever party they might

might choose ultimately to favour, all that had hitherto been done could do no harm. Hinojosa was entirely satisfied with this explanation, and allowed Mexia to return to Nombre de Dios.

After the return of Mexia, the president went across the isthmus to Panama, where he held separate conferences with Hinojosa and the different captains, which he conducted with so much prudence and secrecy, that he gained them all over to the royal cause, without any of them having any communication with the others on the subject, so that he was soon in condition to speak with them publickly on the objects of his mission, having brought them all over to his sentiments and engaged them to second his intentions. By supplying the soldiers with every thing of which they were in need, he brought them all easily into his measures, believing that the most effectual means of succeeding in his mission, was by acting gently and in a conciliating manner with every one: yet in all this he acted without meanness or servility, constantly preserving the dignity becoming his rank and authority. In all his negociations, the president was ably and faithfully seconded by his major-general Alfonzo de Alvarado, who was exceedingly serviceable on every occasion, both in consequence of having many friends among the officers, and because those even who were not among the number were much influenced by his authority and character. At first Hinojosa hesitated about declaring for the president, and even notified his arrival to Gonzalo Pizarro. Some of the captains and other principal persons at Panama had likewise written to Gonzalo, even before the arrival of the president at Panama, giving it as their advice that he ought not to be allowed to enter Peru; but in the sequel these persons changed their opinion by the persuasion of Gasca. During his residence at Panama, the president contrived to manage so judiciously with Hinojosa, whom he frequently visited, that he procured his consent to send Pedro Hernandez Paniagua, a gentleman who had accompanied him from Spain, with letters to Gonzalo Pizarro apprizing him of his arrival in Tierra Firma, and the object of his mission. Among these letters was one from the king, to the following effect:

THE KING, TO GONZALO PIZARRO.

"Gonzalo Pizarro, from your letters and the information of other

other persons, we have been informed of the commotions and disorders which have arisen in all the provinces of Peru, since the arrival of the viceroy Blasco Nunnez Vela and the judges of the royal audience. We are convinced that these troubles have been produced by endeavouring to establish and enforce, in their utmost rigour, the new laws and regulations which we had judged proper for the government of that country, and for insuring good treatment to the native inhabitants. We are satisfied that you, and those who have acted along with you during these troubles, have not been actuated by any disinclination to your obedience and loyalty towards us, but merely in opposition to the extreme rigour and inexorable obstinacy of the viceroy, who refused to listen to the supplications and remonstrances which were made to him on the new regulations.

"Being well informed in regard to all these affairs, and having heard every thing that Francisco Maldonado had in charge to say on the subject from you and the inhabitants of these provinces, we have thought proper to send over as our president the licentiate De la Gasca, a member of our council of the holy inquisition, to whom we have given full power and authority to do every thing that he may deem proper and necessary for restoring tranquillity and good order in the country, to replace its affairs on a proper footing, and to introduce such regulations as may tend to the good of our service and the glory of God, and the advantage of the country and its inhabitants, both such as are our natural subjects and the original inhabitants. For this reason we will and command, and expressly desire, that you may be punctually obedient to every thing which the said Gasca shall order you in our name, in the same manner as if his commands were from ourselves; and that you give him every assistance in your power in every thing which he may require, and which may be necessary for executing the orders which we have given him, according as he may inform you, or shall require in our name, conform to the confidence we repose in your fidelity. On our part, we assure you that we entertain a just estimation of the services which you and your brother the marquis have done, and that we shall reward the same in time and place convenient to his children and brothers by effective marks of our good will. Given at Venlo, this sixteenth of February

ruary in the year of grace one thousand five hundred and forty-six."

I THE KING.

By order of his Majesty,

FRANCISCO DE ERASO.

Along with this letter from the emperor, the president wrote to Gonzalo Pizarro, dated on the 26th of September 1546 from Panama, and addressed to the illustrious senior Gonzalo Pizarro, in the city of Lima, of which the following is the substance.

"I have delayed sending the letter of his imperial majesty, which accompanies this present communication, till now, in the hope of being able to set out for Peru immediately after my arrival in this country, and because it appeared more conformable to the respect and obedience which I owe to his majesty to have delivered his royal letter in person than to allow it to be preceded by any writing from myself. Finding, however, that my voyage is necessarily delayed, and being informed that you have called a meeting of the colonists at Lima to consult upon the past transactions, and on what may be proper in the present situation of affairs, I have thought it improper any longer to delay sending his majestys letter, together with this from myself, which I transmit by Pedro Hernandez Paniagua, a person of honour and merit, who professes to be your friend and servant.

"After the most mature and careful deliberations respecting all that has occurred in Peru, since the arrival of the late viceroy in that country, his majesty is satisfied that the commotions have not been excited by a spirit of rebellion and disobedience in the Spanish inhabitants, but through the inflexible rigour with which the viceroy endeavoured to enforce the regulations, in spite of the supplications of the colonists and their appeal to his majesty, by which they were justified in defending themselves against so great severity, at least until they should learn the royal will on the subject in answer to their remonstrances. All this appears from the letter which you addressed to his majesty, in which you declared that the principal reason which had induced you to accept the situation of governor of Peru, was that it had been given to you by the royal audience, in the name and under the seal of his majesty; by the acceptance of which employment you were enabled to do good service to the royal interests, which might otherwise have suffered much prejudice; and as you have declared

declared these to be your motives for assuming the government, until his majesty might think proper to issue his commands, which you were ready to obey like a good and loyal subject.

"Therefore, his majesty, having seen and duly considered all these things, and heard the opinions of his councillors thereupon, has sent me for the express purpose of restoring peace, tranquillity, and good order to the country, by the revocation of the obnoxious regulations, with full power to extend his royal pardon for all that has already occurred, and to take the opinion and advice of the colonists upon those measures that may be most proper and advantageous for the royal service, the glory of God, the good of the country, and the benefit of its inhabitants. In respect to such Spaniards as cannot be provided in the country with repartitions of lands and Indians, I have orders to employ them in new discoveries, where they may acquire honour and riches, as has already been done by so many other persons. I earnestly entreat you therefore, as a Christian, and a wise and prudent gentleman of honour, to reflect seriously on all these things. As you have hitherto always evinced much affection and attachment to the welfare of the country and its inhabitants, you certainly have great reason of thankfulness to the Almighty, that in so important and delicate an affair, neither his majesty nor his councillors have been disposed to consider your past conduct in the light of revolt and rebellion against the legitimate authority of the sovereign, but have rather been pleased to view it in the light of a just and necessary defence of your own rights, and those of the Spanish inhabitants of Peru, until the decision of his majesty upon your supplications and remonstrances might be made manifest. Therefore, since his majesty has been graciously pleased to grant to you and the other colonists all that you required by your supplications, by abrogating the obnoxious regulations, it is incumbent upon you, as an obedient and loyal subject, to evince a respectful and prompt obedience to the royal orders [1].

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1 In translating this lettter the substance has been materially compressed; omitting much loose and declamatory argumentation, with several instances of the irresistible power of the emperor, to convince Pizarro of the absolute necessity of submission. Among other arguments, Gasca quotes with approbation an instance of a Spaniard who had assassinated his brother in the midst of the German Lutherans for deserting the religion of his country; and threatens him with the vengeance of his brother Ferdinand if he should persist in rebellion against his sovereign.—E.

"I have represented all these things to you, that you may not flatter yourself by a false confidence of being able to resist the power of his majesty, who is able if it should so please him to employ irresistible force in repressing the commotions and disorders of Peru, instead of those measures of clemency, which it has pleased God that he should now resort to; and that if reduced to the necessity of using force, it will be necessary for his majesty to take care not to ruin the country by sending too great a number of troops, instead of being under any difficulty as to sending a sufficient power to overcome all possibility of resistance. You ought likewise to reflect that matters will necessarily take a quite different turn than they have hitherto done. Hitherto your followers have been influenced by their own self-interest, not only considering the late viceroy as your enemy and your cause as good, but all of them looked upon him as their personal enemy, who wished to deprive them of their properties, and to put to death every one who opposed his designs. Under these circumstances your followers were necessarily impelled to adhere to your party in the defence of their own lives and properties. But as both are now secured, by the revocation of the obnoxious regulations, and the amnesty granted by his majesty, the Spanish inhabitants of Peru have now their legitimate sovereign as their friend and protector, to whom we all owe the most entire loyalty and obedience. I entreat you to reflect seriously on these things, and to consider that, in the present situation of affairs, and the turn which they must assuredly take in the sequel, you cannot count upon the adherence of any one, if you unfortunately choose to follow wrong measures. By contributing your assistance to put an end to the commotions which have distracted the kingdom of Peru, the whole inhabitants of that country will remain indebted to your exertions for the maintenance of their rights and privileges, in having opposed the execution of the obnoxious regulations, and having procured a favourable attention to their supplications and remonstrances; insomuch that his majesty has been pleased to send me with an express commission to listen to and redress all grievances. Should you unfortunately resolve upon refusing submission to the royal authority, you will obliterate all the merit you derive from your past conduct; as by endeavouring to continue the troubles and commotions, you will shew yourself actuated by motives of personal interest and ambition, instead of any regard for the good of the pub-

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lic. Instead of serving the interests of the Spanish inhabitants of Peru, you will become the cause of infinite injury to all, and will be considered as the enemy of the kingdom, by perpetuating the troubles, and occasioning the destruction of the lives and fortunes of your friends and adherents. You ought likewise to consider that, by continuing the war, you will render it necessary to bring over a numerous army into Peru, so that you will become accountable to God and man for all the miseries and disorders which may follow, and for the entire ruin of the country and its inhabitants, by which you will incur the hatred of all the principal colonists, merchants, and other rich persons.

"To conclude, I pray God to take you and all your followers under his most holy protection, and that he may inspire you with proper sentiments on this occasion, for the good service of his majesty, the eternal welfare of your souls, and the preservation of your lives, honours, and estates; and I remain, illustrious Sir, yours, &c.

PEDRO DE LA GASCA."

Gonzalo had only been a few days in Lima on his return from Quito, when he received letters from Hinojosa informing him of the arrival of the president. He was much disturbed by this intelligence, which he immediately communicated to the captains and other principal persons of his party, and with whom he consulted upon the steps necessary to be taken in this conjuncture of affairs. Some were of opinion that it was necessary to get rid of the president, either openly or by secret assassination; while others recommended that he should be invited into Peru, where it would be easy to oblige him to agree to all their demands; or where at least they could draw their negociations with him to a great length, by insisting on convening an assembly of deputies and procurators from all the cities of the kingdom at Lima, to deliberate on the subject of his reception, and to determine whether he should be received or not; and, as Peru was of vast extent, it would be easy to put off the meeting of that assembly for two years, during which period the president might be kept in the isle of Puna under a confidential guard, by which he might be prevented from writing to Spain that the country was in rebellion; more especially as they could keep him in continual suspense, by representing that the general assembly could not meet sooner on account of the vast distance of some

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of the cities. Even the most moderate were for obliging the president to return into Spain.

In this council of the leaders of the insurrection, it was likewise proposed to send deputies from all parts of Peru to his majesty, to explain the state of the colony, and the events which had occurred; and particularly to exculpate their conduct in regard to the battle of Quito in which the viceroy was slain, by throwing the whole blame upon him as the aggressor. It was likewise proposed that these deputies should humbly implore his majesty to invest Gonzalo Pizarro in the government of Peru, for which especial purpose they should be so instructed and empowered by all the cities. They were also to be instructed, during their residence at Panama on their way into Spain, carefully to learn what were the powers and instructions of the president; and to endeavour to prevail upon him to delay proceeding to Peru, until they had informed his majesty of the true state of the kingdom, that ulterior orders might be issued in consequence. It was proposed at the same time, if the president persisted in coming into the country, to take him into custody. Some even proposed to put him to death during the journey, while others proposed to have him poisoned at Panama and likewise to put Alonzo de Alvarado to death. Many other proposals of a similar nature and tendency are said to have been made at this time; but as all these transactions took place in the secret meetings of the chief of the insurgents, it is difficult or impossible to ascertain the precise nature of their deliberations. It was besides resolved, that the messengers who were to be sent to the president should be charged to deliver him letters from the principal inhabitants of Lima, strongly urging him to refrain from coming into Peru, even in terms of insolence and implied threatening.

After long deliberations respecting the persons who should be sent into Spain to lay their representations before the emperor, Don Jerom de Loyasa archbishop of Lima, Lorenzo de Aldana, Friar Thomas de San Martino provincial of the Dominicans, and Gomez de Solis were chosen for that purpose. The provincial was much suspected by the insurgents of being inimical to their party, by several expressions of his opinion, both in his sermons and in private conversations: Yet they thought proper to employ him and the others in this commission, although they were almost equally suspicious of the rest; both to give weight to their representations

through

through the respectability of their messengers, and because no other persons of any consequence in the country dared to appear before his majesty on this occasion, being afraid of punishment for the share they had taken in the past commotions. They considered likewise, if these deputies should declare against them while in Spain, as they actually suspected, that it was better to have them out of the country; as, if matters should assume an unfavourable aspect for Gonzalo and his adherents, these persons might have done them much injury by remaining, as they were much respected in Peru, both on account of their rank and character. Gomez de Solis, who was major domo to Gonzalo Pizarro, was the only one of these commisioners in whom he reposed confidence; though indeed some alleged that he was only intended to proceed to Panama with a supply of money and provisions for Hinojosa and his troops, while others believed he was to have accompanied the other deputies into Spain. Besides these persons, the bishop of St Martha was likewise requested to accompany the deputation; and they were all supplied with the necessary funds for the expences of their voyage.

Lorenzo de Aldana set off by sea for Panama in all haste, while the other deputies were making preparations for their voyage, being commissioned by Gonzalo to send him intelligence as quickly as possible as to the true state of affairs in the Tierra Firma. As Lorenzo set out from the port of Lima in October 1546, Gonzalo confidently expected to receive dispatches from him from Panama by the ensuing Christmas, or early in January 1547; and for this purpose, he appointed a set of couriers to remain in waiting all along the coast of Peru to the northward of Lima, to be in readiness to forward the dispatches as quickly as possible. The two bishops and the provincial embarked a few days after Aldana, and all of them arrived safely at Panama.

Vela Nunnez, the brother of the late viceroy, who had long remained a prisoner at large, being allowed to go out on hunting parties, and to ride about unarmed, yet under strict injunctions to take care of his conduct, was drawn about this time into a private engagement with a soldier named Juan de la Torre, by means of which he lost his life. De la Torre was one of those who had deserted from the viceroy to Gonzalo, along with Gonzalo Diaz and others, when on the expedition against Pedro de Puelles and the inhabitants of Guanuco. He had afterwards the good fortune to discover a

concealed treasure of gold and silver in the valley of Hica, which had been consecrated by the Indians to their idols, and which was said to have contained to the value of 60,000 crowns in the precious metals, besides a great quantity of emeralds and turquoises. De la Torre placed all this treasure in the hands of the father guardian of the Franciscans; to whom he one day revealed in confession that he wished to return into Spain, that he might enjoy his riches in quiet; but, having followed the party of Gonzalo, and consequently incurred the displeasure of his majesty, he wished to be able to perform some acceptable service to the king before his departure, on purpose to merit pardon for his past offences. For this purpose, he intended to embark with his treasure from the port of Lima for Nicaragua, where he proposed to enlist a party of soldiers, and to fit out one or two vessels with which to cruize for some time along the coast of Peru against Gonzalo and his confederates, by landing and pillaging in such places as were unprovided with troops: But, as he had not sufficient knowledge or experience for conducting such an enterprize, he wished to find a person properly qualified to act as commander on this occasion, and had a strong desire to induce Vela Nunnez to undertake the direction of the enterprize, as a gentleman experienced in war, and who was besides in a great measure bound to seek an opportunity of being revenged upon Gonzalo for the death of his brother the viceroy and many others of his friends and relations. With this view, therefore, it was his intention to place himself and his treasure at the disposal of Vela Nunnez, whom he wished to consult on this subject with some adherents of the late viceroy who dwelt in Lima, that these persons might likewise be induced to join in the enterprize. De la Torre, therefore, requested the father guardian to converse on the subject with Vela Nunnez.

At first Vela Nunnez was on his guard, lest it might be a false confidence devised for his ruin. But De la Torre satisfied his doubts in presence of the father guardian, by a solemn oath on a consecrated altar, and Vela Nunnez agreed to take charge of the enterprize, immediately using his endeavours to engage the adherents of the late viceroy in the plot. It is not known how this affair came to be divulged, which it certainly was to Gonzalo, who immediately caused Vela Nunnez to be arrested and brought to trial as a traitor and rebel against the king, and had him publickly beheaded. Vela

Nunnez was a brave and honourable gentleman, much esteemed by all, and was exceedingly regretted by the whole inhabitants of Peru [2].

About this time likewise, Alfonzo de Toro, who was lieutenant-governor of Cuzco under Gonzalo Pizarro, was assassinated by his own father-in-law, in consequence of some dispute. Gonzalo was much grieved by the death of this person, from whom he expected to have derived important services in the approaching crisis. He appointed Alfonzo de Hinojosa to succeed as lieutenant-governor of Cuzco, who had in fact been elected to the vacant charge by the magistrates of that city. Under his administration some tumults were excited in Cuzco by Lope Sanchez de Valenzuela and Diego Perez Bezerra; but by the exertions of Hinojosa and Pedro de Villacastin the tumults were happily quelled; Valenzuela and Bezerra were put to death as the ringleaders, and some others who had been particularly active on the occasion were banished.

It is well known that Lorenzo de Aldana, who has been already mentioned as dispatched by Gonzalo to Panama, carried several letters from Gonzalo and the other leaders of the insurrection which were couched in very disrespectful terms: But Aldana, anxious to prevent the present troubles from becoming even more serious than they were, prudently destroyed these letters, so that they were not delivered. On his arrival at Panama, he went to lodge with Hinojosa, with whom he was extremely intimate, there being likewise some relationship between them. He went likewise without delay to pay his respects to the president; but at this first visit they both confined themselves to conversation on general topics, so that Aldana did not reveal his sentiments for some days, wishing, like a prudent person, to learn in the first place what were the sentiments and intentions of the officers who then resided at Panama. When he found that they were disposed to act for the service of his majesty, he revealed his real sentiments to the president, offering his best services in any manner that might be most conducive to the royal interest. From the confidence which was reposed in Aldana, it was at length resolved to treat openly with Hinojosa, with whom hitherto the

2 From the sequel, it would appear that Juan de la Torre escaped entirely on this occasion; at least a person of exactly the same name appears afterwards as an officer in the service of Gonzalo.—E.

the president and Mexia had acted with much reserve. Accordingly, Mexia represented to him, that the affairs of Peru were now in such a situation that it was requisite to restore them to order, which might easily be done by agreeing to offer the services of all the faithful subjects of his majesty resident in Panama to the president; and if the present favourable opportunity for this purpose were neglected, another might not occur for a long time. Hinojosa replied, that he was entirely disposed to serve the president, to whom he had already declared, if his majesty were not disposed to grant the demands of Gonzalo, he was ready in all things to yield obedience to the commands of the sovereign, being resolved to give no just cause of reproach as a rebellious subject.

In reality Hinojosa, although an excellent soldier and experienced in every thing relative to warlike affairs, was exceedingly ignorant in political matters. He had always believed that every thing which had been done by the insurgents was founded in justice, and that the authors of the supplications and remonstrances had a right to use their utmost efforts to succeed in procuring all that they had demanded; having even been so assured by several learned men. Yet in all the past transactions, he had conducted his own actions with much prudent reserve, so as not to go beyond the original and avowed purposes of the remonstrants, having never put any one to death or confiscated the wealth of any of the royalists, as had been done by the other insurgent commanders. On perceiving the erroneous sentiments by which he was deluded, Mexia strongly represented to him, that, as the pleasure of his majesty had been clearly expressed, by means of the commission and instructions given to the president, there was no room now to wait for any new declaration of the royal will. That all the officers and soldiers in the Tierra Firma were resolved to obey the president, and that Hinojosa must determine without delay on the part he chose to embrace as a loyal subject, without allowing himself to be misled by these ridiculous sentiments of pretended men of learning. Hinojosa requested to be allowed one day to consider what answer he should give to these representations; and accordingly the very next day he determined to follow the advice of his friend Mexia, whom he accompanied to the president, and engaged to obey him in all things conformable to the royal orders. After this, all the captains of the troops and

other

other principal persons in Panama were convened; who all pledged their obedience to the president, engaging to keep the matter a profound secret till farther orders. Yet the soldiers began to suspect the real situation of affairs, as they noticed that the president gave orders on every affair of importance that occurred, and that all their officers visited him very frequently, and always behaved to him in public as their superior.

As the president considered that any farther delay might be prejudicial to the royal cause, he resolved to dispatch Aldana with the command of about three hundred men in three or four vessels, with orders to proceed to the port of Lima, to assemble at that place all who were well affected to his majesty. By this measure, he wished to prevent Gonzalo from having time to learn the actual situation of matters in the Tierra Firma, and from placing his own affairs in perfect order; and was in hopes likewise by these means to prevent him from putting several of the principal loyalists to death, as had been often threatened by the insurgents. Accordingly, four vessels were fitted out with all expedition, of which the command was given to Aldana, having under his orders the captains Mexia, Palomino, and Yllanez. On this occasion, in a general review of the troops, all the colours were publickly resigned into the hands of the president; who immediately restored them to the respective officers, in his majestys name, and reappointed Hinojosa as general of the army. After this, the three hundred men above mentioned were embarked under Aldana, pay and equipments being advanced to such of the soldiers as were in need. Aldana immediately set sail on his expedition, being accompanied by the provincial of the Dominicans, a person of merit and influence, whose authority and example were expected to confirm those who might be indetermined to follow the party which he espoused. Aldana carried along with him several copies of the amnesty and of the royal orders for restoring peace and order to Peru; and was expressly enjoined not to land on any part of the coast if possible, till he got to the port of Lima; that he might endeavour to surprise Gonzalo.

About this time, the archbishop of Lima and Gomez de Solis arrived at Panama; both of whom expressed their satisfaction on learning the turn which affairs had taken at that place, and openly declared themselves for the royal party, offering their best services to the president. At this time

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likewise, the president sent Don Juan de Mendoza to Mexico, with letters for the viceroy of that kingdom, Don Antonio de Mendoza, requiring the aid of all the soldiers that could be spared from that country. Don Balthazar de Castille was sent at the same time to Guatimala and Nicaragua on a similar mission; and other persons were dispatched to San Domingo, to procure every possible assistance for prosecuting the war in Peru, if that measure should ultimately be necessary.

It has been already mentioned that Pedro Hernandez Paniagua was dispatched by the president with letters for Gonzalo Pizarro. Paniagua arrived at Tumbez about the middle of January 1547, whence he went to San Miguel, where Villalobos then commanded for Gonzalo. Paniagua was immediately arrested by Villalobos, who took from him his dispatches and forwarded them with all speed to Gonzalo at Lima, by means of Diego de Mora the commandant of Truxillo. On learning the arrest of Paniagua, Gonzalo sent a confidential person to conduct him to Lima, with strict orders not to permit any person to converse with him by the way. On his arrival at Lima, Gonzalo, in presence of all his confederate officers, restored to Paniagua his credentials and dispatches, desiring him to declare every thing that had been confided to him by his employer, and assuring him of entire personal safety in regard to every thing connected with his commission: But, if he should presume to converse either publickly or privately with any other person on any subject connected with the president, he might rest assured of losing his head. Accordingly, Paniagua boldly explained the subject of his mission. When he had withdrawn from the council of officers, some were for putting him to death, alleging that he had previously communicated his sentiments to some confidential persons. Gonzalo Pizarro did not communicate to his officers either of the two letters formerly mentioned, which were addressed to himself, by the king and the president. In this consultation, it was the universal opinion of the insurgent leaders, that they ought on no account to admit the president into Peru; many of the officers, in expressing their sentiments on this occasion, spoke of the president in a very abusive manner, and even mentioned his majesty with very little respect, at which Gonzalo seemed well pleased.

At this time, Gonzalo Pizarro wrote to his lieutenant-general Carvajal, who still remained in La Plata, directing him

to

to come immediately to Lima, and bring thither along with him all the treasure he could procure, and all the musquets and other arms that were in that place. These orders did not proceed from any idea that these were necessary for defence, as the transactions at Panama were still unknown in Peru; but on account of the many complaints which had been made of the continual murders and confiscations which were perpetrated by Carvajal. Some alleged that he was summoned to the capital to receive deserved punishment for his cruel and tyrannical conduct; while others said it was on purpose to strip him of more than 150,000 crowns which he had amassed by pillage. At this time Lima was so entirely occupied with suspicions, that no one dared to confide in any other, or to speak a single word respecting the present state of affairs; as the slightest misplaced word, or the most trifling pretext or suspicion, was sufficient to place the life of any one in imminent danger. Gonzalo took the greatest possible precautions for his safety, of which the following is a remarkable instance. He had noticed on many occasions that the oydor Zarate was by no means attached to his interests, although his daughter was married to the brother of Pizarro: And though Zarate was sick, it was confidently asserted that Gonzalo procured him to be poisoned, by means of certain powders which he sent him under pretence of a remedy. In the sequel this rumour was confirmed by the testimony of several persons who were in the service of Pizarro at the time. Whether Pizarro were really guilty of this crime or innocent, it is a certain fact that he expressed much satisfaction on learning the death of Zarate.

In the mean time, Paniagua procured permission, through the intermediation of the licentiate Carvajal, to return to Panama, though contrary to the opinion of the other insurgent officers, who were clear for detaining him; and he may assuredly be reckoned fortunate in having got away from Lima before intelligence arrived there that the fleet and army at Panama had submitted to the president. Although this circumstance had not reached the knowledge of the insurgents, it began to be vehemently suspected, in consequence of receiving no reports from that place for so long a time; insomuch that Gonzalo sent off orders to Pedro de Puelles, who commanded in Quito, and all his other captains, to keep themselves vigilantly on their guard, and to hold all their troops in continual readiness for taking the field.

At

At this period the lieutenant-general Carvajal arrived at Lima from Las Charcas, accompanied by an hundred and fifty soldiers, and bringing with him three hundred musquets and treasure to the value of more than 300,000 crowns. He was received at Lima with extraordinary pomp, Gonzalo going out to meet him with all the inhabitants of the city, accompanied with bands of music and every demonstration of rejoicing. Just at this time intelligence was received from Puerto Viejo, that four ships had been seen near the coast, as if reconnoitering, which had stood out again to sea without coming to anchor or sending on shore for water or provisions, as was usual with ships navigating in these seas. This was looked upon as a sign of hostile intentions. It was a considerable time after this, before Gonzalo was entirely certified of the intention of these four ships, which in fact were those under Aldana, both because they were exceedingly cautious of coming near the land, and because Diego de Mora, his lieutenant at Truxillo, detained certain letters which had been sent through his hands on the subject. Yet their suspicious appearance on the coast gave great uneasiness to Gonzalo, and occasioned him to take every means of precaution for his security; ordering continual watch to be kept up day and night, both by the soldiers and the inhabitants, all of whom appeared to do so with much care and satisfaction. Some time after the appearance of the ships off Puerto Viejo, they arrived at the harbour of Malabrigo, five or six leagues to the northwards of Truxillo, and Diego de Mora learnt their arrival by the same messenger who was charged with the news of their appearance at Puerto Viejo. As he was quite ignorant of the persons who were embarked in these ships, and of their intentions, he went on board a vessel in the harbour of Truxillo, accompanied by several inhabitants of that city, intending to seek for these four vessels wherever they might happen to be, and carried along with him a considerable supply of provisions and warlike stores. He considered it quite safe to board these strange vessels; as, if they belonged to the partisans of Gonzalo, it was easy for him to allege that he came in quest of news, and to supply them with refreshments; whereas if they should be of the royal party, so much the better, as he was resolved to join them with all his followers. He fortunately came up with Aldana on the very day in which he left the harbour of Truxillo; and, having entered into mutual explanations, joined

company

company to the reciprocal satisfaction of both, supplying Aldana with such refreshments as were needed for his ships.

Next night, Aldana and De Mora with all the ships came to anchor in the harbour of Truxillo, where it was not deemed proper to land the troops; but it was agreed that De Mora and all the inhabitants of Truxillo should retire into the province of Caxamarca, in which place they could remain in safety till their assistance might be required, and where they might endeavour to assemble all that were favourable to the royal cause. At the same time messengers were dispatched with letters and orders from the president in the kings name, to Chachapoyas, Guanuco, and Quito, and to the frontier posts commanded by Mercadillo and Porcel, inviting all who were inclined to serve his majesty to declare themselves. Intelligence of these proceedings at Truxillo were speedily carried to Gonzalo by a monk of the order of Mercy, who had always favoured the Pizarrian faction; but who could only relate the departure of De Mora and the inhabitants of Truxillo, without being able to give any distinct account of their intercourse and agreement with those on board the fleet. Accordingly, Gonzalo concluded, from the information brought by the monk, that De Mora and the inhabitants of Truxillo had gone off for Panama to join the president. Gonzalo therefore sent off the licentiate Garcias de Leon, who had always accompanied him hitherto, with the commission of lieutenant-governor of Truxillo, accompanied by fifteen or twenty soldiers, to whom he gave grants of the lands and Indians which had belonged to the citizens of Truxillo who had gone off with De Mora. Along with De Leon, Gonzalo sent the superior of the order of Mercy, with orders to embark the wives of all the inhabitants of Truxillo who had gone off, and to carry them to their husbands at Panama, whither he supposed they were gone; and he sent at the same time proper persons to be married to the widows who remained in Truxillo, commanding that such of these widows as refused compliance should be deported along with the married women to Panama. Various and specious pretexts were alleged for this procedure; but the true reason was, that Gonzalo wished to be entire master of the country, and to dispose at his pleasure of the lands, Indians, houses, and properties of all who had fled from his usurped power.

As Garcias de Leon was sent on this expedition by sea, he fell in, a few days after his departure, with the four ships commanded

commanded by Aldana, and joined himself to them with all his followers, embracing the party of his majesty. On this occasion, the superior of the order of Mercy was sent by land to Lima, with directions to inform Gonzalo of what had happened, and the purpose of these four ships making their appearance on the coast. He was likewise desired to communicate the intelligence to several of the loyal inhabitants of Lima; and to tell them, if they were at any time able to go to the port belonging to that city, they would find boats ready to carry them on board the ships. On receiving this news, Gonzalo sent orders to the superior to keep out of the way, and on no account to have intercourse with any person whatever, either publickly or privately, as he valued his life. Gonzalo complained loudly against Aldana for deserting him; saying that if he had followed the advice of his principal officers, he would have put him to death long before.

When the arrival and intention of the fleet was certainly known and understood, by which it appeared necessary to prepare for war, Gonzalo began immediately to put every thing in proper order, and to assemble his troops; having hitherto believed himself in perfect security against any hostile attack. He appointed the licentiates Carvajal and Cepeda to be captains of cavalry, as persons in whose attachment he could confide, considering the weighty obligations they had received from him. Juan de Acosta, Juan Velez de Guevara, and Juan de la Torre were made captains of musqueteers; and Ferdinand Bachicao, Martin de Robles, and Martin de Almendras captains of pikemen. Francisco de Carvajal, who had hitherto enjoyed that office, was nominated lieutenant-general, having an hundred of the musqueteers he had brought with him from Las Charcas appointed for his guard. It was proclaimed by beat of drum, that all the inhabitants of Lima, and all strangers residing there, of whatever quality or condition, were to enrol themselves among the troops under pain of death; and money was issued to the several captains for the pay and equipment of their companies. The two captains of horse received 50,000 crowns, with which they were each ordered to levy and equip fifty horsemen; besides which, several merchants and others, very unfit for warfare, enrolled themselves. It was well known that these men were quite unfit for being soldiers; but they were constrained to enlist on purpose to exact money from them for their discharge, which in fact they purchased by furnishing horses,

arms, and money to such as were in want. Martin de Robles received 25,000 crowns with which he was to enlist and equip a company of 130 pikemen. Ferdinand Bachicao had 20,000 to raise 120 pikemen; and Juan d'Acosta a similar sum for an equal number. Martin de Almendras had 12,000 crowns to raise 45 pikemen; and Juan de la Torre 12,000, to levy 50 musqueteers, who were to form the ordinary guard of Gonzalo. Antonio Altamirano, one of the principal inhabitants of Cuzco was appointed to carry the grand standard, with a troop of 80 horse; and he received 12,000 crowns for some particular purpose, as his men had no need of pay or equipments, being all chosen from among the rich inhabitants of the country.

On this occasion the several captains had standards or colours painted according to their respective fancies, the grand standard alone carrying the royal arms. Among these, Bachicao had the letters G. P. or the cypher of Gonzalo Pizarro, interlaced upon his colours, surmounted by a royal crown. Every thing being in order, posts were assigned to each officer, of which they were to take especial care by day and night. Gonzalo Pizarro made liberal donations to several soldiers who were unfit for service, as well as to those who took the field; giving them, besides what they were entitled to for their equipment, considerable sums according to their respective merits and occasions. In a general review, he mustered a thousand men, as well armed and equipped and furnished with all necessaries, as any that had been seen in the most prosperous campaigns in the Italian war. Besides their arms, which were all excellent, most of the soldiers were clothed in silken hose and doublets, and many had theirs of cloth of gold, or embroidery of gold silver or silk, with gold embroidery on their hats, their ammunition pouches, and the covers of their musquets. The army was well supplied with excellent powder; and Gonzalo gave orders that every soldier should have either a horse or a mule to ride upon during a march. In the equipment of this army, Gonzalo expended above half a million of crowns.

Besides these preparations, Gonzalo sent Martin Silveira to the city of La Plata, to bring from thence all the men and money that could be procured in that quarter. Antonio de Robles was sent to Cuzco, to conduct to Lima all the troops that were there under the charge of Alfonzo de Hinojosa, the lieutenant-governor of that city. He wrote to Lucas Marti-

nez,

nez, his lieutenant at Arequipa, desiring him to join him immediately with all the soldiers he could raise. He sent orders to Pedro de Puelles, his lieutenant at Quito, to join him as soon as possible with all the troops from that province; and likewise ordered Mercadillo and Porcel to abandon the passes of which they had the charge, bringing all their men along with them to Lima, and sent similar orders to Saavedra, the lieutenant-governor of Guamanga. By these means Gonzalo exerted himself to the uttermost to collect a respectable force; and he particularly enjoined all his officers not to leave behind them any horses or arms, or any other conveniencies for those who remained to enable them to join the president. He endeavoured to justify his present conduct, by representing that Aldana, whom he had sent to give an account to the king of all that had occurred in Peru, had leagued with the president, and now employed against himself and the colony those vessels which had been confided to his charge, and which had cost more than 80,000 crowns in their equipment. He alleged that the president, who had been sent expressly by his majesty to restore peace and tranquillity to the kingdom, had raised troops of his own authority, and now proposed to come in arms into Peru, to punish all who had taken part in the late commotions, so that all were equally interested in opposing him. That no one ought therefore to reckon upon the pardon and amnesty with which the president was said to be entrusted, and which it was reported he was to extend to all who joined him; but rather that this ought to be considered as a fraudulent contrivance to divide and ruin the colonists. Even admitting the truth of the reported amnesty; it could only refer to the original opposition to the obnoxious regulations and tyrannical conduct of the viceroy, and could have no reference to those who were engaged in the battle of Quito, and the consequent death of the viceroy; as these transactions could only be known in Spain after the departure of the president, and nothing respecting them could therefore be included in his instructions and powers. Therefore, until his majesty were fully informed of the whole series of events, and had issued new orders on the subject, it became necessary to prevent the president from coming into Peru, more especially as Gonzalo Pizarro was informed by letters from Spain, that the president was not authorized by his majesty to deprive Gonzalo of the government, but merely to preside in the royal court of audience. He pretended to be perfectly assur-

ed of this circumstance, by letters from Francisco Maldonado, whom he had sent to the king, and that the president had even in some measure acknowledged this in the letter which was brought from him by Paniagua. He alleged farther, that the captains in his own employment, who had been sent into the Tierra Firma for the defence of Peru, having revolted to the president, had now persuaded him to change his tone and to invade Peru by force of arms; at which procedure his majesty would be assuredly much displeased, when informed. By these and other arguments of a similar nature, Gonzalo endeavoured to demonstrate that the president was highly to blame in detaining those persons whom he, Gonzalo, had sent to Spain, and that it was justifiable on these grounds to oppose him by force of arms.

Gonzalo, by the advice of his lieutenant-general and other confidential officers, took additional measures to justify their conduct, and to satisfy the soldiers and inhabitants in the goodness of their cause. In an assembly of all the men learned in the law who were then in Lima, they arraigned the president as having acted criminally, in taking possession of the ships belonging to the colony, and by invading the country in a warlike manner, contrary to the tenor of the commission and instructions he had received from the king; endeavouring at the same time to convince the assembly, that it was just and proper to proceed judicially against the president, and those captains and others who adhered to him and abetted him in these proceedings, and that they ought to be proceeded against in a formal manner, by legal process. The persons composing this assembly of men of learning, dared not to contradict Gonzalo on this occasion or to oppose his will in any respect; A process was accordingly instituted in due form, informations taken and recorded, and judgment pronounced in the following tenor: "Considering the crimes established by the judicial informations given against the licentiate De la Gasca and those captains who adhere to him, they are found guilty and deserving of condemnation; wherefore, the said licentiate De la Gasca is hereby adjudged to be beheaded, and the captains Aldana and Hinojosa to be quartered." The other captains and officers serving under the president, were at the same time condemned to various punishments, according to the measure of guilt which Gonzalo and the leaders of his faction were pleased to charge against them;

them; and the sentences were ordered to be signed in due form by the oydor Cepeda, and other men of letters at Lima.

Among these persons of the law who were desired to sign on the present occasion, was a licentiate from Valladolid named Polo Hondegardo, who had the boldness to wait upon Gonzalo, and to represent to him, that the promulgation of such a sentence was by no means advisable or politic; as it might possibly happen hereafter that those officers who were now in the service of the president might incline to revert to his party, which they would not dare to do when once this cruel sentence was pronounced against them. He represented farther, that it was necessary to keep in mind the sacred character of the president as a priest; in consequence of which circumstance all who might sign a sentence of death against him would incur the pains and penalties of the greater excommunication. By this remonstrance, these strong measures were arrested in their progress, and the intended sentence was not promulgated.

About this time, intelligence was brought to Pizarro, that the squadron under Lorenzo de Aldana had quitted the port of Truxillo and was approaching along the coast towards Lima. On this intelligence, Gonzalo sent off Juan d'Acosta with fifty mounted musqueteers, with orders to keep in view of the ships, to prevent the royalists from being able to land for provisions or water. On arriving at Truxillo, Acosta only ventured to remain one day at that place, being afraid that Diego de Mora might bring a superior force against him from Caxamarca. He learnt likewise, that the royalists squadron had gone to the port of Santa, to which place he accordingly marched. Aldana got notice of his coming from some Spanish inhabitants of that place, and laid an ambuscade for him, consisting of an hundred and fifty musqueteers, in a place overgrown with tall reeds on the side of the road by which Acosta had to march in his way to Santa. Acosta had certainly fallen into the snare, if he had not fortunately made prisoners of some spies who had been sent on shore from the squadron, whom he was about to have hanged, when they prevailed on him to save their lives by giving him notice of the ambushment, and by farther informing him that he might make prisoners of some sailors who were taking in fresh water for the ships, by quitting the common road and going nearer the shore. He accordingly took that road and made the sailors prisoners, whom he sent to Gonzalo at

Lima.

Lima. Those belonging to Aldana, who were in ambush, learnt this transaction; but, being all on foot, and the insurgent party all horsemen, they could not attempt to rescue the prisoners from Acosta, as that part of the country consisted of very deep sands. Acosta returned to the port of Guavera, where he waited fresh orders from Lima.

Gonzalo treated the prisoners sent to him by Acosta with much kindness, supplying them with clothes and arms, and gave them their choice of any of the companies of his troops in which they might think proper to serve. From these men, he received exact information of all the late events which had occurred at Panama, of the succours which the president expected to receive from different parts of America, and of the force which accompanied Aldana on the present expedition. They informed him likewise that Aldana had set on shore Pedro de Ulloa, a Dominican friar, disguised in a secular habit, who had orders to distribute copies of the amnesty in every direction. In consequence of this information, he was sought for and soon found; and Gonzalo had him confined in a dungeon near the fish-ponds in his garden, which was infested with toads and vipers, where he remained till he recovered his liberty on the arrival of the fleet some time afterwards.

About this time, it was determined to dispatch the licentiate Carvajal with three hundred mounted musqueteers, together with the detachment under Juan d'Acosta, to scour the coast to the northwards, and to attack Diego de Mora, who had withdrawn into the province of Caxamarca. When every thing was in readiness for this expedition, the lieutenant-general Carvajal went one morning early to Gonzalo, and represented to him, that it was by no means safe to entrust so important a command to the licentiate, as a person in whom they could not repose implicit confidence. That although he had hitherto attached himself to their party, it was obviously for the sole purpose of being revenged of the late viceroy; and, as that purpose was now accomplished, it did not appear that his fidelity could be depended upon. It was proper to recollect, he added, that all the brothers of the licentiate were greatly attached to his majesty, particularly the bishop of Lugo who enjoyed several high employments; so that it was not to be imagined the licentiate would act cordially in the interest of a party which was diametrically opposed to that in which all his nearest relations were engaged.

Besides all which, this person had formerly been made a prisoner by themselves, without any just foundation, and had even been so nearly punished capitally, that he had been ordered to make his testament and to confess himself in preparation for death, which injurious treatment he could not be supposed to have forgotten. Gonzalo was so much convinced by these arguments, that he countermanded the order given to the licentiate Carvajal, and sent off Juan d'Acosta on the expedition to Caxamarca, with a force of two hundred and eighty men. D'Acosta accordingly set out on this intended service, taking the road for Truxillo; but on arriving at Baranza, about twenty four leagues from Lima, he halted at that place for reasons which will appear in the sequel.

At this period, the Captain Saavedra, who was lieutenant-governor of Guanuco for Gonzalo, received letters from Aldana urging him to quit the insurgent party and to declare for his majesty. He accordingly determined to do so; and under pretence of obeying the orders he had received from Gonzalo of joining his army at Lima, along with Hernando Alonzo, he assembled all the soldiers he could procure in that province, with whose assistance he fortified the city of Guanuco, and informed them of his resolution to exert his best endeavours in the service of the king. All his soldiers agreed to follow his example, except three or four who fled and informed Gonzalo of the defection of their governor. Saavedra retired immediately to Caxamarca, with forty horsemen, where he joined Diego de Mora and those who had withdrawn along with him from Truxillo, where both declared themselves for the royalist party. On learning the defection of Saavedra and the principal inhabitants of Guanuco, Gonzalo sent an officer to that place at the head of thirty soldiers; with orders to pillage and destroy the city: But the Indians of the neighbourhood, having armed themselves and taken possession of the place by the orders of their masters, made so resolute a defence that the insurgent detachment was beaten off, and constrained to return to Lima, being unable to procure any other plunder except some mares cattle and other animals belonging to the settlers.

On the arrival of Antonio de Robles at Cuzco, whom Gonzalo had sent to take the command in that city and province, Alfonso de Hinojosa, who had hitherto been lieutenant-governor there, resigned the command of the city and troops,

troops, but as was believed with much dissatisfaction. De Robles immediately collected as much money as he could procure, and enlisted all the soldiers that were to be found in that neighbourhood, with whom he marched to Xaquixaguana, about four leagues from Cuzco. At that place he learned that Diego Centeno, who had concealed himself for more than a year in a cave among the mountains, had recently left his concealment, on learning the arrival of the president, and had collected several of his former partisans, who had hidden themselves from the fury of Gonzalo in various parts of the woods and mountains. By this time Centeno had collected about forty men, mostly on foot, though some of them still had the horses with which they had made their escape. Although these men were neither so well armed or equipped as they could have wished, Centeno resolved to make an attempt upon Cuzco, shewing as much confidence as if he had been at the head of five hundred well armed troops. His principal followers were Luis de Ribera, Alfonso Perez de Esquival, Diego Alvarez, Francisco Negral, Pedro Ortiz de Zarate, and Friar Dominic Ruiz, commonly called Father Viscayno. With this small band of followers, Centeno drew nigh to Cuzco, being doubtless invited to that step by some of the principal inhabitants, for the purpose of freeing them from the tyranny of De Robles, a young man of low origin and little ability. It was even said that Alfonso de Hinojosa, from resentment against Gonzalo for superseding him in the government, had sent privately to offer his assistance to Centeno. Both of these reports are highly probable; as otherwise it would have been a most inexcusable rashness in Centeno, to call it no worse, to have presumed upon attacking Cuzco with the small number of men he had collected; as, besides the inhabitants of the city, there were more than five hundred soldiers there and in the environs, while he had only forty ill armed men, most of whom had swords or daggers fastened to poles, instead of pikes or lances.

On learning the approach of Centeno, De Robles returned to Cuzco, where he made such preparations as seemed necessary; and, on hearing that Centeno was within a days march, he took the field with three hundred men, sending forwards Francisco de Aguira to procure intelligence. This person was brother to one Peruchio de Aguira who had formerly been put to death by the lieutenant-general Carvajal, and was consequently a secret enemy to the insurgent

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party. Instead therefore of executing the commission confided to him by De Robles, he went immediately to join Centeno, whom he informed of every thing that was going on at Cuzco, and of the state of affairs in that city. In the night before the festival of Corpus Christi of the year 1547, Centeno advanced toward the city of Cuzco, by a different road from that in which De Robles and his troops were posted; and, having turned one of his flanks, made an unexpected assault with great resolution, as resolved to conquer or die. Completely surprised and thrown into confusion, the troops of De Robles were unable to get into any order for defence, and even in several instances turned their arms against each other, insomuch that a good many of them were slain by their own comrades. On this occasion Centeno used the following stratagem, which succeeded admirably: Having taken off the saddles and bridles from the horses belonging to his small band of followers, he ordered them to be driven by his attendant Indians along the road which led to the front of the enemies camp, to call off their attention from his real attack on their flank and rear. By this means, as the horses were urged on by the Indians behind, they threw the troops of De Robles into confusion, and enabled Centeno to penetrate into the camp unperceived and unopposed, where he and his men exerted themselves so courageously that the insurgents were completely defeated and put to flight.

By this successful exploit Centeno acquired great honour; it having been seldom seen that so small a number had defeated so disproportioned a force of infinitely better armed troops. It has been reported that, on this occasion, some men belonging to Alfonso de Hinojosa were the first to fly, in consequence of secret orders for that purpose: But these men never acknowledged the truth of this allegation, as disgraceful to themselves; and Centeno denied the story, as detracting from the glory of his victory.

After the derout of De Robles, Centeno took possession of Cuzco, where he was immediately elected captain-general of that city and province for his majesty. Next day, he caused Antonio de Robles to be beheaded, and distributed 100,000 crowns, which he found in that city belonging to Gonzalo, among his followers. He in the next place took measures for raising a respectable force; appointing Pedro de Rios and Juan de Vargas, the brother of Garcilasso de la Vega, captains of infantry, and Francisco Negral captain of cavalry;

cavalry; Luis de Ribera being named major-general, Having armed and equipped about four hundred men, he set out for La Plata, with the intention of persuading Alfonso de Mendoza, who commanded at that place for Gonzalo, to declare for the king, or otherwise to take possession of that place by force.

About this time, Lucas Martin, who had been sent by Gonzalo to conduct the troops of Arequipa to Lima, set out from Arequipa with 130 men for that purpose; but when he had proceeded about four leagues on his march, his people mutinied and made him prisoner, electing Jerom de Villegas as their commander, and immediately marched off to join Centeno, who was then in the Collao waiting the issue of some negotiations in which he had employed Pedro Gonzalo de Zarate, schoolmaster at Cuzco. While in the Collao, Centeno was informed that Juan de Silveira, the serjeant major of the army of the insurgents, had been sent by Gonzalo to conduct the troops of that province to Lima, and had made prisoners of five or six of the royalists whom he met with on his march. Silveira had collected about three hundred men on this occasion, and we shall relate what befel them in the sequel.

On learning the success of Centeno at Cuzco and the death of De Robles; and being likewise informed that the people of San Miguel had declared for his majesty, and that the captains Mercadillo and Porcel had joined Diego de Mora at Caxamarca; Gonzalo Pizarro saw that he had now only to depend on the force which was along with himself at Lima, and those under Pedro de Puelles, on whose fidelity he reposed entire confidence. In this predicament, he determined to alter the destination of Juan d'Acosta and to send him against Centeno with a respectable force, resolving to follow d'Acosta in person with all his army if necessary, then amounting to nine hundred men, among whom were many of the principal inhabitants of Peru. In forming this new resolution, his object was in the first place to reduce all the upper or mountainous provinces to subjection, and afterwards to make war on every other part of the country which had withdrawn from his authority. It has likewise been conjectured, that Gonzalo proposed to himself, in case of any reverse, to endeavour to make some new discovery and conquest, towards the Rio Plata, or Chili, or in some other place to the south and east of Peru. He certainly never avowed this intention openly, nor is it alleg-

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ed that he communicated it to any of his confidents, as this would have indicated a want of confidence in his cause; so that this idea rests only on conjecture. In consequence of this new plan, Gonzalo recalled D'Acosta to Lima with all his troops, to the great mortification of that person and his followers; insomuch that seven or eight of them deserted, choosing Jerome de Soria as their commander. Many others would certainly have followed this example, if it had not been for the severe precautions exercised by D'Acosta on the occasion, who put to death Lorenza Mexia, son-in-law to the Conde de Gomera, and another soldier, whom he suspected of intending to desert. He likewise arrested several others who were suspected of similar intentions, whom he carried prisoners to Lima.

A few days before the arrival of D'Acosta at Lima, Gonzalo took some suspicion of the fidelity of Antonio Altamarino, his standard bearer, who appeared to conduct himself with a degree of coldness in the present emergency; and, without any direct proof or even any strong suspicious circumstances being alleged against him, he caused him to be arrested and put in irons as a criminal, had him strangled in prison during the night, and ordered his dead body to be suspended upon the public gibbet. Altamarino was one of the richest colonists in Peru, and Gonzalo, having confiscated all his wealth, distributed it among his most attached followers. After this, he gave the charge of the royal standard to Don Antonio de Ribera, who had just joined with thirty men from Guamanga, whence also he had brought some arms and cattle which he had taken from the inhabitants of that place. At this time Gonzalo found his affairs much embarrassed and growing every day worse, insomuch that he could only count upon the force which accompanied him in Lima; whereas a short time before he seemed absolute master of the whole kingdom of Peru. He was in great fear, if the new royal orders, the general amnesty, and the revocation of the obnoxious regulations, all of which had been brought out from Spain by the president, should come to the knowledge of his remaining followers, that they would all abandon him. In this state of uncertainty and dread, he assembled all the principal inhabitants and citizens of Lima at his house, to whom he represented, "That he had brought himself into a very embarrassing and even dangerous situation by his exertions in their service, during which he had endur-

ed much labour and danger in the wars he had carried on for their benefit, and for the protection of their property and rights, for all which they were indebted to the genius and valour of his brother the marquis. That, in the present situation of affairs, the whole colonists ought to consider their honour and interests as identified with his own, the conduct of both being sufficiently justified in sending deputies to inform the king of all that had occurred during the troubles and commotions. That the president had arrested these deputies at Panama, had seduced his officers, and had taken possession of his ships. That the president certainly had done all these things to advance his own private interest; as, if he had received orders from his majesty to make war against the kingdom, he would assuredly have given intelligence of this circumstance through Paniagua. That not satisfied with these outrages, the president now invaded the government to which he, Gonzalo, had been lawfully appointed, and disseminated numerous libels against him throughout the kingdom, as was well known to them all. That consequently, he was determined to use his utmost efforts to oppose the president, who treated him as an enemy without any legitimate cause. That the general interests of all the colonists and his own were obviously identified; as, should the president carry matters to extremity as every thing seemed to indicate, they would all be brought to a severe account for the consequences of the late wars and disorders, and would be held responsible for the murders and plunders which had been perpetrated during their continuance. He requested them therefore to reflect maturely on all these things; and, as he had hitherto exerted his utmost efforts in defence of their rights, it still remained not only to continue to defend the same, but even to preserve their lives and honours. For these purposes, therefore, he had now assembled them, and to lay before them a clear state of the present situation of affairs; and he requested of them to declare freely and openly their undisguised sentiments; engaging, on the faith and honour of a gentleman and a knight, which he was ready to confirm by a solemn oath, that he would not injure any one in person or estate for the opinion or advice they might now give; but should leave every one at full liberty to declare for either party in the present troubles, and even to retire wherever they might judge proper. Therefore, he expected that all who were disposed

disposed to adhere to him on the present occasion should declare themselves without reserve, as he would demand of them to confirm their promise by a written and signed engagement. He advised them accordingly to look well to their promises when once made; as if any one should violate the same, or should appear lukewarm or feeble in their efforts in the approaching crisis, he would immediately order them to be put to death even upon very slight circumstances of suspicion."

Every person in the assembly answered unhesitatingly, that they were ready to obey his orders in every thing to the utmost of their power and abilities, and to devote their lives and fortunes in his cause. Some even went so far in their pretended attachment, as to say that they would willingly risk their eternal salvation in his service. Many of them emulously strove to find out arguments for justifying the war which was now about to commence, and to enhance the obligations which the whole country lay under to Gonzalo for undertaking the management of the enterprize. Some even carried their base and scandalous flattery to such a pitch of extravagance, to conciliate the tyrant, that it were improper to contaminate our pages with a repetition of their words. After they had all expressed their attachment to the cause, Gonzalo drew out a paper in which the proposed engagement was already engrossed at full length; at the bottom of which he caused the licentiate Cepeda to write a solemn promise of executing all which that paper contained, and to obey Gonzalo in every thing he should command; after which, he made Cepeda sign that promise, and take a solemn oath to observe all its conditions. After Cepeda, all who were present in the assembly were made to sign and swear to the engagement in a similar manner.

After the conclusion of this affair, Juan d'Acosta was ordered to prepare for marching to Cuzco by way of the mountain, at the head of three hundred men. Paez de Sotomayor was appointed his major-general on this expedition, Martin d'Olmos captain of cavalry, Diego de Gumiel captain of musqueteers, Martin de Almendras captain of pikemen, and Martin de Alarzon standard-bearer. The whole of this detachment being well provided with arms and all necessary equipments, left Lima taking the mountain road for Cuzco, on purpose to recover that important city from Centeno. At the same time Gonzalo received notice that the squadron

commanded

commanded by Lorenzo de Aldana had been seen at the distance of about fifteen leagues from the port of Lima. It was determined therefore in a council of war, to encamp the whole insurgent army between Lima and the sea; as it was feared, if the ships got possession of the port, it might occasion great confusion and disturbance in the city, especially as in that case the necessary orders would have to be hastily issued and executed; by which means the malecontents might have an opportunity of withdrawing during the battle, and might even escape on board the ships to join the enemy; while, at the same time, there would be no leisure to watch the behaviour of the wavering, and to compel them to join the army. Orders were issued accordingly for the army to take the field, and it was publickly proclaimed throughout the city, that every one fit to carry arms, of every age and condition, was to join the troops, on pain of death. Pizarro gave notice that he would behead every person who acted contrary to these orders; and, while he marched in person at the head of the troops, he should leave the lieutenant-general in charge of the city, to execute rigorous punishment on all who lagged behind. All the inhabitants were so confounded and terrified by these threats, that no one dared to converse with another, and none had the courage either to fly or to determine what was best to be done in this emergency. Some however contrived to conceal themselves in places overgrown with tall reeds, or in caves, and many concealed their valuable effects under ground.

On the day preceding that which had been fixed upon by Gonzalo for marching from Lima, news was brought that three ships had entered the port of Lima, which occasioned universal consternation. The alarm was sounded, and Gonzalo marched out with all the men who could be collected on a sudden, taking up his encampment about midway between the city and the port, at the distance of about a league or four miles from each, that he might at the same time make head against his enemies if they attempted to land, and might prevent the inhabitants of Lima from having any communication with the vessels. He was at the same time unwilling to abandon the city, and wished to know exactly the intentions of Aldana, before going to a greater distance, and if possible to gain possession of the vessels by some contrivance or negociation, having no means of preventing them from gaining possession of the port, as one of his own captains,

contrary

contrary to the opinion of the other officers, had lately sunk five vessels in the harbour. On this occasion Gonzalo mustered five hundred and fifty men, cavalry and infantry included; and, after encamping in the situation already mentioned, he placed eight horsemen in ambush close to the sea, with orders to prevent any person landing from the vessels to deliver or to receive letters, or to converse with any one. Next day, Gonzalo sent Juan Hernandez, an inhabitant of Lima, in a boat on board the ships, with orders to say in his name, if Aldana chose to send any of his people on shore to explain the object of his coming into Peru, that Hernandez would remain on board as an hostage for the safety of his messenger. Hernandez was conducted on board the admiral, where Aldana retained him as proposed, and sent on shore the captain Penna to wait upon Gonzalo.

Penna was not conducted to camp till night, that he might have no opportunity of conversing with any one; and on being introduced to Gonzalo in his tent, he delivered to him a writing, containing the orders and instructions which the president had received from his majesty, the general amnesty granted by his majesty to all the colonists of Peru, and the revocation of the obnoxious regulations. He then expatiated, as instructed by Aldana, on the universal and great advantages which would accrue to all by giving a prompt and entire obedience to the commands of his majesty, who had not judged it convenient to continue Gonzalo in the government of Peru. That his majesty, being fully informed of all that had occurred in that country, had sent out De la Gasca as president, with instructions and full powers to provide a remedy for all the existing evils. Gonzalo proudly answered, that he would severely punish all who were on board the fleet, and would chastise the audacity of the president for the outrage he had committed in detaining his envoys and seizing his ships. He complained loudly against Aldana, for coming now against him as an enemy, after receiving his money, and accepting his commission to go into Spain on purpose to give an account of his conduct to the king.

After some farther discourse, all the officers belonging to Gonzalo left the tent, leaving him and Penna alone together. Gonzalo made him a long discourse, endeavouring to justify his conduct in regard to his past and present conduct; and concluded by making him an offer of 100,000 crowns, if he would contrive to put him in possession of the galleon commanded

manded by Aldana, which composed the principal force of the hostile fleet. Penna rejected his proposal with disdain, declaring himself dishonoured by the offer, and that nothing whatever would induce him to be guilty of such treacherous conduct. At the conclusion of this conference, Penna was committed to the custody of Antonio de Ribeira, with strict injunctions that he should not be allowed to have the smallest intercourse with any individual whomsoever; and was sent back next day to the fleet, when Juan Fernandez returned to camp, having in the interval promised and resolved to use his utmost efforts in the service of his majesty on every favourable opportunity.

Aldana had rightly judged, that the surest means for succeeding in the mission on which he had been entrusted by the president, was to communicate the knowledge of the general pardon among the soldiers. For this purpose, therefore, he devised exceedingly proper measures to diffuse the intelligence among the troops, but which were at the same time exceedingly dangerous for Juan Hernandez. Aldana gave him copies of all his dispatches in duplicate, and entrusted him with letters for several principal persons in the camp of Gonzalo. Fernandez concealed such of these papers as he judged necessary in his boots, giving all the rest to Pizarro. Taking Gonzalo afterwards aside, he told him secretly that Aldana had endeavoured to prevail upon him to publish the royal pardon in the camp; and that accordingly he had thought it prudent to pretend compliance, and had taken charge of that general amnesty among his other dispatches, both to blind Aldana by the expectation of doing what he wished, and on purpose to get these from him for the information of Gonzalo; pretending to be ignorant that Gonzalo knew of any such thing existing. Gonzalo thanked him for his prudent conduct, and considered him as a person worthy of entire confidence and much attached to the cause. He then received the papers which Fernandez offered, threatening the severest punishment against Aldana. Having thus craftily deceived Gonzalo, Fernandez contrived to deliver some of the letters he had in charge, and allowed some of them to fall on the ground, as if lost, yet so as they might be found by those to whom they were addressed.

When Gonzalo quitted Lima to encamp on the road towards the sea-port of Calao, he left Pedro Martin de Cicilia in charge of the city as provost-marshal. This man, who had

had attached himself to Gonzalo with much zeal from the very commencement of the troubles, was now about seventy years of age, yet healthy and vigorous, of a rough and cruel disposition, and entirely destitute of piety towards God or of loyalty to the sovereign. Gonzalo had given him orders to hang up every person he might find loitering in the city with out a written permission, or who might return thither from camp without a pass. Martin executed these rigorous orders with so much exactitude, that, meeting a person who came under the foregoing predicament, he had not sufficient patience to have him hanged, but dispatched him directly with his poignard. He generally went about the streets followed by the hangman, carrying a parcel of ropes, and loudly declared that he would hang up every one whom he found in the city without permission from Gonzalo.

One day several of the citizens came from the camp to the city, under the authority of a pass, to procure such provisions and other articles as they stood in need of, the principal persons among whom were Nicolas de Ribeira, who was alcalde or police judge of the city, Vasco de Guevara, Hernando Bravo de Lagunas, Francisco de Ampuero, Diego Tinoco, Alfonzo Ramirez de Sosa, Francisco de Barrionueva, Alfonzo de Barrionuevo, Martin de Menezes, Diego d'Escobar, and some others. After they had collected the articles of which they were in want, they left the city with their horses arms and servants; but, instead of returning towards the camp, they went off in the road for Truxillo. Being noticed by some spies, who gave immediate notice to Gonzalo, he caused them to be pursued by Juan de la Torre with a party of mounted musqueteers. At the distance of eight leagues from Lima, De la Torre came up with Vasco de Guevara and Francisco Ampuero, who had fallen behind with the intention of acting as a kind of rear guard, to give notice to the rest in case of a pursuit. They defended themselves courageously, and as their enemies could not take any certain aim, it being under night, they contrived to make their escape unwounded. De la Torre and his men found themselves unable to continue the pursuit with any chance of success, as their horses were already completely tired with their rapid march from camp. They returned, therefore, believing that, even if they were to get up with the fugitives, they would be unable to take them by force, as they were all men of quality, who would rather be slain than surrender. On their way back to camp, they fell

fell in with Hernando Bravo, who had fallen behind his companions, and on bringing him a prisoner to Gonzalo he was ordered to immediate execution. Donna Ynez Bravo, who was sister to the prisoner and wife to Nicolas de Ribeira, one of the fugitives, on hearing the situation of her brother, hastened to the camp accompanied by her father, and threw herself at the feet of Gonzalo, whom she earnestly implored to spare the life of her brother. Being one of the most beautiful women of the country, and of the highest rank, and being seconded by most of the officers who served under Gonzalo, he at length allowed himself to be prevailed on to pardon her brother, who was the only person, during the whole subsistence of his usurpation, whom he forgave for a similar offence. On granting this pardon, Alfonzo de Caceres, one of the captains under Gonzalo, kissed his hand saying: "Illustrious prince! accursed be he who abandons you, or hesitates to sacrifice his life in your service." Yet, within three hours afterwards, Hernando Bravo and several others made their escape from the camp. Among these who now deserted were several persons of consideration who had attached themselves to Gonzalo from the very commencement of the troubles, so that their defection gave him infinite vexation and alarm, insomuch that hardly any one dared to speak to him, and he issued peremptory orders to put to death every person who might be found beyond the precincts of the camp.

On the same night, Captain Martin de Robles sent a message to Diego Maldonado, who had been alcalde of Cuzco, usually called the rich, intimating that Gonzalo had resolved in a consultation with his officers to put him to death. Maldonado very readily believed this information, as he had formerly been one of the inhabitants of Cuzco who made offer of their services to the late viceroy. Likewise, although then pardoned by Gonzalo, whom he accompanied in the march to Quito against the viceroy, he had fallen under new suspicions, and had even been put to the torture, on account of a letter which was dropt near Gonzalo, containing some very unpleasant truths; and although the real authors of that letter had been afterwards discovered, Maldonado could never forget the treatment he had suffered at that time. Besides this, he was the intimate friend of Antonio Altamirano, whom Gonzalo had recently put to death. Considering all these circumstances, Maldonado was so thoroughly convinced of the imminent danger in which he stood, that he immediately quitted

quitted his tent with only his sword and cloak, not even taking time to saddle a horse, though he had several good ones, or speaking to any of his servants. Though a very old man, he walked as fast as possible all night in a direction towards the sea, and concealed himself in the morning among some tall reeds near the shore about three leagues from where the ships of Aldana lay at anchor. As he was much afraid of being pursued, he revealed his situation to an Indian who happened to be near; and whom he prevailed upon to construct a float of reeds and straw, on which the Indian carried him on board one of the ships.

In the morning, Martin de Robles went to the tent of Maldonado; and finding him withdrawn as he expected, he immediately waited on Gonzalo, whom he informed of the circumstance, adding, "As the army was diminishing daily by the number and quality of the fugitives, he begged leave to advise that they should quit the present camp, and march into the interior provinces, as formerly agreed upon, without granting permission to any one to go into the city of Lima, lest many more might use that pretence for an opportunity to desert. Several of his own company, he said, had applied for leave to go into the city, to procure provisions; but he considered it better for himself to go there with a detachment of soldiers to collect the provisions and necessaries required, that he might keep all his men in sight, and that he proposed on this occasion to take Maldonado from the Dominican convent, where he understood he had taken refuge, and to bring him a prisoner to the camp, where he ought to undergo condign punishment, as a warning to others." Gonzalo approved all that was said on this occasion by De Robles, in whom he had great confidence as a person who had taken part with him in all the past troubles, and desired him to act in the way he proposed. De Robles accordingly, taking all his own horses and attendants and those belonging to Maldonado, took along with him to Lima all the soldiers of his company in whom he could confide. After collecting such provisions and other necessaries as might serve his purpose, he set off for Truxillo with thirty armed horsemen, declaring publickly that Gonzalo was a tyrant and usurper, that all good subjects were bound to obey the orders of his majesty, and that he was resolved to join the president.

When this serious defection became known in the camp, it was universally believed that the army would soon disperse, and

and that Gonzalo would be massacred. Gonzalo endeavoured to restore order and confidence among his troops, pretending to care little for those who had deserted him; yet resolved to decamp next morning. That very night, Lope Martin, an inhabitant of Cuzco, deserted almost in sight of the whole army. Next morning Gonzalo quitted his present camp, and marched about two leagues to a new camp near an aqueduct, taking every precaution to prevent his people from deserting; believing that his principal danger on that account would be got over if he were once ten or twelve leagues from Lima. The licentiate Carvajal was appointed to take charge of the night guard, with strict injunctions to prevent desertion: But even he, in the middle of the night, quitted the camp accompanied by Paulo Hondegardo, Marco de Retamoso, Pedro Suarez d'Escovedo, Francisco de Miranda, Hernando de Vargas, and several others belonging to his company. These men went in the first place to Lima, whence they took the road towards Truxillo. A few hours afterwards, Gabriel de Roias left the camp, accompanied by his nephews Gabriel Bermudez and Gomez de Roias and several other persons of quality. These men left the camp unseen by any one, as they went through the quarter which had been confided to the charge of the licentiate Carvajal.

In the morning, Gonzalo was much distressed on learning the events of the past night, and more especially by the desertion of the licentiate Carvajal, whom he had disobliged by superseding him in the command which had been conferred on Juan d'Acosta, and by refusing him his niece Donna Francisca in marriage. The departure of the licentiate had a very bad effect on the minds of the troops; as they knew he was entrusted with all Gonzalos secrets, and had been greatly in his confidence ever since the death of the viceroy whom he had slain in the battle of Quito. Carvajal left to the value of more than 15,000 crowns in the camp, in gold silver and horses, all of which was immediately confiscated and divided among the soldiers: But the army was convinced he would not have abandoned so much valuable property, unless he had been satisfied that the affairs of Gonzalo were in a very bad condition, both in regard to power of resisting the president, and in respect of the right and justice of his pretensions. So great was the defection in the camp, that the greater part of the troops had resolved to disperse; and next morning, when the army had begun its march, two cavaliers, named Lopez

and Villadente, quitting the ranks and causing their horses to vault in sight of the whole army, they cried out aloud, "Long live the king, and let the tyrant die!" These men trusted to the speed of their horses; and Gonzalo was so exceedingly suspicious of every one, that he expressly forbid these men to be pursued, being afraid that many might use that pretence for joining them. He continued his march accordingly in all haste by the road of the plain country, leading towards Arequipa; in which march several of his musqueteers and others deserted, although he hanged ten or twelve persons of consideration in the course of three or four days. At length his force was reduced to two hundred men, and he was in continual dread that in some false alarm all his remaining men might disperse. Continuing his march, he at length came to the province of Nasca, about fifty leagues from Lima.

After Gonzalo had gone to a considerable distance from Lima, Don Antonio de Ribeira, Martin Pizarro, Antonio de Leon, and some other inhabitants of Lima, who as old and infirm had been allowed by Gonzalo to remain behind the army on giving up all their horses and arms, erected the standard of the city, and, assembling the small number of inhabitants that remained in the great square, they publickly declared for his majesty in their own names and in the names of all the loyal citizens of the city. After proclaiming the new regulations and orders of the president, the general amnesty granted by the king, and the abrogation of the obnoxious regulations, they sent notice of all the recent events to Aldana, who still remained on the coast to receive and protect all who were inclined to quit the party of the insurgents. At the same time, and for the same purpose, Juan Alfonso Palamino had landed with fifty men, yet keeping his boats always in readiness to reimbark, in case of the return of Gonzalo. Aldana likewise placed an advanced picket of twelve horsemen, of those who had deserted from the insurgents, on the road towards Arequipa, to bring him timely notice of any thing that might occur in that quarter, with orders to return with all speed in case of the enemy making a countermarch, or of any important event. Aldana likewise gave orders to Captain Alfonzo de Caceres to remain at Lima, to collect any of the deserters from Pizarro that might come there; and he dispatched Juan Yllanez in one of his vessels along the coast, with orders to land a monk and a soldier in some secure place, to carry dispatches to Centeno, announcing the events that had occur-

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red at Lima, and to furnish him with copies of the royal orders and general amnesty, and to communicate similar intelligence at Arequipa. He sent likewise several intelligent persons by land to Arequipa, with letters to different persons of consideration, and to carry orders and instructions to the captains Alfonzo de Mendoza and Juan de Silveira at La Plata. By means of the Indians of Jauja, who belonged to him, Aldana transmitted letters and copies of the amnesty to several of those persons who accompanied Juan d'Acosta, that the royal clemency might be made known in all parts of Peru. Most of these measures succeeded, and produced material advantages as will appear in the sequel. In the mean time, Lorenzo de Aldana remained on board ship, with about an hundred and fifty men, issuing such orders as seemed necessary in the present state of affairs.

It was soon learnt that Gonzalo received regular advices of ever thing that occurred, and great care was likewise taken by Aldana to procure intelligence of all that passed in the camp of the insurgents; so that every day messengers went and came between both parties, and both were continually endeavouring to mislead each other by false reports. Accordingly it was reported one day that Gonzalo and his troops were in full march for Lima, which occasioned much confusion and dismay in that city; but it was known afterwards that this rumour had been purposely spread by Gonzalo and his lieutenant-general, on purpose to prevent Aldana from pursuing them, a measure of which they were much afraid. In this unpromising state of his affairs, great numbers of the adherents of Gonzalo abandoned him, believing that he could not resist the power of his enemies. Such of them as had horses took the road to Truxillo; and all the rest endeavoured to reach the ships of Aldana, concealing themselves as well as they could in retired places till they might ascertain that Gonzalo had proceeded farther on his march, which indeed he continued to do with much precipitation. When he had proceeded to a considerable distance from Lima, all those who had abandoned him flocked to that city, and every day some fresh deserters came there, by which means Aldana got accurate intelligence of the proceedings of Gonzalo, who was reported to be in continual dread of being put to death by his own men. After the flight of the licentiate Carvajal and Gabriel de Roias, Gonzalo made no farther use of the royal standard, only displaying that which contained his own arms.

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His cruelty increased with his disappointment, insomuch that not a day passed in which he did not put some one to death. He took extraordinary precautions for his own personal safety, which were so far effectual, but every effort to prevent desertion was unavailing.

Lorenzo de Aldana sent intelligence of all these matters to the president, by means of messengers dispatched both by sea and land, earnestly urging him to come into Peru as quickly as possible, as the insurgent party seemed at so low an ebb that nothing was wanting but his presence to make it fall entirely in pieces and submit without a struggle. On the 9th of September 1547, when assured that Gonzalo had retreated eighty leagues from Lima, Aldana landed with all his officers and all the inhabitants of Lima that had taken shelter on board his ships. He was received on shore with every demonstration of joy and respect, every one who was able appearing in arms to do him honour. Having appointed Juan Fernandez to the command of the ships, he took charge of the vacant government of Lima, where he made every possible preparation for carrying on the war, collecting arms ammunition and all other necessaries.

Some time after the departure of Juan d'Acosta from Lima for Cuzco by the mountain road, as already mentioned, at the head of three hundred men well armed and equipped, he got notice that Gonzalo Pizarro had abandoned that city; on which he sent Fra Pedro, a monk of the order of Mercy, to Gonzalo, to demand instructions for his ulterior proceedings. Pizarro sent back the monk with directions for Acosta to join him at a certain place. On his return to Acosta, accompanied by a person named Gonzalo Muquos, after delivering his dispatches, Friar Pedro gave him an account of all that had happened in the army of Gonzalo, and in particular of the great number of men that had deserted from him; which Acosta had not before learnt, though several of his soldiers had received the intelligence by letters brought to them by the Indians who frequented the camp, but which they dared not to communicate to each other. On the present occasion, the messengers from Gonzalo recommended to Acosta to keep this matter as secret as possible till such time as he should join Gonzalo. Acosta therefore, gave out that he had received favourable intelligence from the monk, and that Gonzalo had been successful on several occasions, being daily joined by many additional soldiers; and, as he had found it convenient

convenient and necessary to send off many confidential persons in various directions, these persons pretended to have deserted from Gonzalo by way of stratagem, on purpose to gain possession of the ships commanded by Aldana. All this however was insufficient to disguise the truth from many of the followers of Aldana, particularly Paëz de Sotomayor, his major-general, and Martin d'Olmos one of his captains; who, coming to a knowledge of the real state of affairs, entered into a resolution of putting D'Acosta to death. They formed this resolution unknown to each other, as no one at this time dared to avow his sentiments to any other person, for fear of being put to death; yet, from certain indications, they began to suspect each other of entertaining similar sentiments, and at length opened themselves reciprocally, and communicated their purposes to several soldiers in whom they confided. Just when they were about to have put their enterprize into execution, Sotomayor got notice that D'Acosta was holding a secret conference in his tent with two of his captains, and that he had doubled his ordinary guard. From these circumstances, Sotomayor concluded that their conspiracy, having been revealed to several persons, had been betrayed to Acosta. He took therefore prompt measures to inform all his confederates, and both he and they took horse without delay, and left the camp in sight of all the army, to the number of thirty-five in all; among whom, besides Sotomayor and D'Olmos, the principal persons were Martin d'Alarzon who carried the grand standard, Hernando de Alvarado, Alfonzo Regel, Antonio de Avila, Garcias Gutierrez d'Escovedo, and Martin Monje; who, with all who went off on this occasion, were men of consideration and of much experience in the affairs of Peru. These men took immediately the road for Guamanga, and used such expedition that, though Acosta sent off sixty mounted musqueteers to pursue them, they made their escape in safety.

Acosta caused immediate investigations to be made in regard to such as had participated in this plot, and ordered several persons to be hanged who were proved to have known its circumstances: some others in the same predicament he detained prisoners, and dissembled with the rest who had been implicated, pretending not to know that they had participated in the conspiracy: Yet, during his march towards Cuzco, he put to death several of those of whom he was suspicious, and others who endeavoured to desert. On his arrival

rival at Cuzco, he displaced all the magistrates who had been appointed by Centeno, nominating others in their stead in whom he thought he could confide, and appointed Juan Velasquez de Tapia to take the chief direction of affairs in that city and province; and having regulated every thing to his mind, he resumed his march for Arequipa to join Gonzalo, according to his directions. In this latter part of his march, about thirty of his men deserted from him, by two or three at a time, all of whom went directly to Lima where they joined Lorenzo de Aldana. Besides these, when Acosta had got about ten leagues beyond Cuzco, Martin de Almandras abandoned him with twenty of the best soldiers of his small army, and returned to Cuzco, where he found a sufficient number of the inhabitants disposed to join him in returning to their duty, and in concurrence with whom he deposed the magistracy appointed by Acosta, one of whom he sent away prisoner to Lima, and established a new set in the name of his majesty. Finding that the number of his followers diminished from day to day, Acosta accelerated his march as much as possible, both for his own security and to serve the insurgent cause in which he was engaged. Out of three hundred well armed and excellently equipped men, with whom he had set out from Lima, only one hundred remained with him on his arrival at Arequipa. He found Gonzalo Pizarro at that place, with only about three hundred and fifty men, who a very short while before had a fine army of fifteen hundred, besides all those who were dispersed in different parts of Peru under various captains, all of whom were then under his orders. Gonzalo was now exceedingly irresolute as to his future proceedings; being too weak to wait the attack of the royalists, who continually augmented in their numbers, and yet deeming it dishonourable to fly or to endeavour to conceal himself.

In the mean time Centeno remained in the Collao, waiting an answer from Captain Mendoza to the message he had sent by Gonzalo de Zarate as formerly mentioned. While there he received dispatches from the president, which were forwarded by Aldana, and accounts of the events which had occurred at Lima, particularly the flight of Gonzalo Pizarro to Arequipa, and the junction of Acosta with the insurgents at that place. On receiving this intelligence he sent a new message to Mendoza by means of Luis Garcias, giving him an account of all these events, and particularly informing him of

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the orders and instructions given to the president, the general amnesty, the revocation of the obnoxious regulations, and the determination of his majesty that Gonzalo Pizarro was not to continue in the government of Peru. He apprized him likewise, that most of the gentlemen and persons of consideration, who had hitherto followed Gonzalo, had now abandoned him on account of his tyrannical conduct, in murdering and plundering all the principal colonists, and more especially because of his rebellion against the sovereign, and refusal to submit to his royal orders, and to the authority of him who had been appointed to regulate the affairs of the kingdom. Wherefore, although all that had been done hitherto might in some measure be excused, he urged Mendoza to consider that in continuing to obey Gonzalo he could no longer avoid the reproach of acting as a rebel against the king. It was now necessary and proper therefore, to forget all individual interests or past disputes, and to devote himself entirely to his majesty, to whom he was enabled by his present situation to render important service.

Alfonzo de Mendoza was already well disposed to act the part of a loyal subject in the present situation of affairs, yet uncertain how best to conduct himself for that purpose; but by this message from Centeno, he was completely determined as to the regulation of his conduct on the present emergency, and immediately declared for his majesty. By agreement between him and Centeno, each was to retain the chief command of the troops now under their orders, and Mendoza departed from La Plata with his men to join Centeno in the Collao. The union of these leaders and their troops occasioned great joy to all their followers, now exceeding a thousand men; and they resolved to march immediately against Gonzalo, taking up a position at a certain pass to prevent him from escaping, and were likewise induced to remain at that place for the convenience of procuring provisions.

At this time the whole extent of Peru from Quito to Lima had declared for his majesty. Juan d'Olmos, who commanded under Gonzalo at Puerto Viejo, on observing the vessels under Aldana passing the port of Manta in that province, had sent an express to Gonzalo giving his opinion that these vessels seemed hostile, as they had not called at the port for refreshments. He at the same time sent some Indians on board, in their ordinary rafts or flat boats, to inquire the purpose of their voyage; by means of which Indians Aldana

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transmitted letters to D'Olmos, urging him to quit the insurgent party, with copies of all the papers connected with the mission of the president. After perusing these papers, D'Olmos transmitted them to Gomez Estacio who was lieutenant-governor of the province for Gonzalo at St Jago de Guyaquil, usually called Culata. On learning that his majesty did not approve of continuing Gonzalo in the government, and had sent out Gasca as president, Gomez wrote back to D'Olmos, that when the president arrived in the country he should know better how to act, and might probably join him; but in the present situation of affairs, he thought it best for both to remain quiet. Juan d'Olmos went immediately to visit Gomez, accompanied by seven or eight friends, under pretence of communing with him on the state of affairs; but, taking his opportunity, one day when Gomez was off his guard, he stabbed him with his poniard, and immediately got the people to declare for his majesty, after which he did the same at his own government of Puerto Viejo.

When Pedro de Puelles, the governor of Quito, became acquainted with these proceedings of D'Olmos, and that the fleet and army at Panama had declared for the president, he became exceedingly anxious as to the measures proper for him to pursue. At this time D'Olmos sent Diego de Urbina to Quito to endeavour to prevail on Puelles to declare for the royal party. Puelles declared he was ready to receive and obey the person sent out by the king, when once he was satisfied that his majesty had no intention of continuing Gonzalo in the government, but would make no alteration in the mean time; and with this indecisive answer Urbina returned to D'Olmos. A few days afterwards, Rodrigo de Salazar, in whom Puelles reposed entire confidence, entered into a conspiracy with several soldiers at Quito, assassinated Puelles, and declared for his majesty. After this exploit, Salazar set out from Quito for Tumbez with three hundred men, with the intention of joining the president. By these several events, and others which have been formerly related, almost the whole of Peru had already returned to obedience before the arrival of the president in the kingdom.

While these favourable events were going on in Peru, the president embarked at Panama with about five hundred men, and arrived safely at the port of Tumbez; one of his ships, commanded by Don Pedro de Cabrera, being under the necessity of stopping at Buenaventura, whence Cabrera and his

men marched by land to Tumbez. On his arrival in Peru, the president received letters from all parts of the kingdom, by which the writers offered him their services and assistance, besides communicating their sentiments on the situation of the colony, and giving their advice how best to proceed in reducing it to order; to all of which letters he replied with great condescension. So many flocked to his standard from all quarters, that he considered himself sufficiently strong to overcome all resistance from the remnant of the insurgents, without drawing any reinforcements from the other Spanish colonies in America; on which account he sent off messengers to New Spain, Guatimala, Nicaragua, and St Domingo, informing the governors of these colonies of the favourable turn of affairs in Peru, and that he should now have no occasion for the reinforcements which he had formerly thought necessary. Soon after his arrival, he gave orders to his lieutenant-general, Pedro Alfonzo de Hinojosa, to march with the troops to form a junction with the royalists in Caxamarca. In the mean time Polo de Menzes remained in charge of the fleet, with which he advanced along the coast to the southwards, while the president, with a sufficient escort, went by the road of the plain to Truxillo, at which place he received intelligence from all parts of the country, stating that every thing went on well.

The president had resolved that he would not go to Lima till he had completed the purposes of his mission, by the final conquest of Gonzalo and his adherents, and the restoration of peace and order in the kingdom of Peru; on which account he transmitted orders to all quarters, that all who had declared for his majesty should meet him in the valley of Jauja, which he considered to be a convenient situation in which to assemble the whole loyal force of the kingdom, as in that place abundance of provisions could easily be procured. For this purpose, he sent orders to Lorenzo de Aldana, then at Lima, to march with all his force for Jauja; and joining the army under Hinojosa, now exceeding a thousand men, he marched for Jauja, all the army expressing the utmost satisfaction at the prospect of being freed from the tyranny of Gonzalo. Many of the principal persons who had joined with Gonzalo at the beginning of the troubles, were now exceedingly offended and displeased by the cruel murders of so many of their friends and neighbours; above five hundred men having been put to death, many of whom were persons of consideration

consideration and importance; insomuch that those who still remained along with him were continually in fear of their lives.

On his arrival at Arequipa, Gonzalo found that city entirely deserted, as most of the inhabitants had gone to join Diego Centeno after that officer got possession of Cuzco. Hearing that Centeno was in the Collao, near the lake of Titicaca, where after his junction with Mendoza, he had an army of near a thousand men, composed of the troops of Cuzco Las Charcas and Arequipa, and with which they occupied all the passes towards the interior, Gonzalo believed it almost impossible to attack these officers with any probability of success. He waited therefore at Arequipa about three weeks, expecting the junction of D'Acosta, who at length arrived, but with very diminished numbers, as already related, many having abandoned him, and having put many of his followers to death on suspicion that they intended to desert. After the junction of D'Acosta, Gonzalo found himself at the head of five hundred men. He now wrote to Centeno, giving a recital of all the events which had occurred during the troubles, and dwelt particularly on the favour he had always shewn him, and particularly instanced the pardon he had granted him when Gaspard Rodriguez and Philip Guttierrez were executed, though equally guilty with them, and although all his officers had urged him to put Centeno to death. In addition, Gonzalo made high offers to Centeno, promising to accede to every demand he might choose to make, if he would now join him. He sent this letter to Centeno by a person named Francisco Vaso, who immediately offered his services to Centeno, to whom he intimated that Diego Alvarez his standard-bearer was in correspondence with Gonzalo. Centeno was already informed of this circumstance by Alvarez himself, who assured him he had entered into this correspondence for a quite different purpose than that of betraying him or the royal cause.

Centeno thought proper to send a civil answer to Gonzalo, giving him many thanks for his offers, and freely acknowledging the favour he had formerly experienced. That as a mark of his gratitude, therefore, he now earnestly entreated him to reflect seriously on the present situation of affairs, to consider the gracious clemency of the king, who had granted a free pardon to him and all those who had taken any part in the past troubles. He assured Gonzalo, if he would abandon the insurrection,

insurrection, now evidently hopeless, and submit to the royal orders, that he would use his utmost endeavours to procure him an honourable and advantageous situation, and at the same time endeavoured to convince him that he would run no risk either in his person or property by following the present advice. On his return to Gonzalo with this letter, Vaso was met by the lieutenant-general Carvajal, who made minute inquiry respecting every thing he had seen and learnt, and gave him strict injunctions not to let it be known to the followers of Gonzalo that the force of Centeno exceeded seven hundred men. On being informed that Centeno refused to join him, Gonzalo disdained to read his letter, and ordered it immediately to be burnt in presence of several of his officers.

Immediately after this, Gonzalo determined to march into the province of Las Charcas, and accordingly took the direct road towards the pass occupied by Centeno and Mendoza. In this march the van-guard was commanded by the lieutenant-general, who took and hanged more than twenty persons whom he fell in with during the march. Among these was a priest named Pantaleon, who carried some letters for Centeno, and whom Carvajal ordered to be hung up, with his breviary and ink-horn suspended from his neck. Continuing this march, the scouts of the two armies fell in with each other on Thursday the 19th of October 1547. Gonzalo immediately sent one of his chaplains with a message to Centeno, demanding leave to continue his march through the pass, without being obliged to give battle[3]. The chaplain was conducted by the bishop of Cuzco, who happened to be in the army of Centeno, to his tent; and Centeno gave strict charges to his troops to be on their guard and always in good order to receive the enemy in case of an attack. For above a month Centeno had been afflicted by an obstinate fever, for which he had been six times blooded without any relief, and was not expected to recover; so that he was quite incapable of acting on the present emergency, being confined constantly to bed.

The illness of Centeno was known in the army of Gonzalo, and that his tent was pitched at some distance from the rest, to avoid the noise and bustle of the camp. Founding on this intelligence, Juan d'Acosta was detached with twenty picked men, with orders to approach silently in the night to the camp

3 No consequences seem to have followed from this demand, which does not appear to have been acceded or even listened to.—E.

camp of the royalists, and to endeavour to carry off Centeno. Acosta accordingly drew near with so much caution that he surprised the centinels that were on guard over Centeno, and had very near reached his tent when the alarm was given by some negro servants. Being thus discovered, Acosta ordered his men to fire off their musquets, and immediately retreated back to the camp of Gonzalo without losing a man. In the confusion occasioned by this exploit, great numbers of the royalists hastened towards the tent occupied by Centeno; but on this occasion several of the soldiers belonging to Valdivia threw away their arms and fled. Next morning the scouts of both armies approached each other, followed by the respective armies, which at length came in sight. The army of Centeno consisted of about a thousand men, two hundred of whom were cavalry, an hundred and fifty armed with musquets, and all the rest with pikes. Of this army, Luis de Ribera was major-general, Pedro de Rios, Jerom Villegas, and Pedro de Ulloa, captains of cavalry, and Diego Alvarez carried the grand-standard. The captains of infantry were Juan de Vargas, Francisco Retamoso, Negral, Pantoia, and Diego Lopez de Zuniga; Luis Garcias being serjeant-major, or adjutant-general[4]. The army of Gonzalo consisted only of five hundred men, of which three hundred were musqueteers, and eighty cavalry, the remainder being armed with pikes. Of this army Carvajal was lieutenant-general; the licentiate Cepeda and Juan Velez de Guevara were captains of horse; and Juan d'Acosta, Ferdinand Bachicao, and Juan de la Torre captains of foot.

Both armies being drawn up in good order, the insurgents advanced, to the sound of trumpets and other musical instruments, till within six hundred paces of the enemy, when Carvajal ordered them to halt. The royalists continued to advance till within a hundred paces less, and then halted likewise. At this time, forty musqueteers were detached from the army of Gonzalo, with orders to begin the engagement; and two other parties of musqueteers, of forty men each, were posted on the wings, Pizarro taking his station between his cavalry and infantry. Thirty musqueteers were likewise advanced from the army of Centeno, to skirmish with those of the insurgents. As Carvajal observed that the royalists waited

4 It is not easy to understand how Mendoza, who had joined Centeno some time before, happens to be omitted in this enumeration.—E.

ed the attack in good order, he ordered his troops to advance a few steps very slowly, in hopes of inducing the enemy to make some movement or evolution which might occasion confusion in their ranks. This had the desired effect, as the royalists, believing that their enemies, though inferior in number, wished to have the honour of making the attack, they began immediately to advance, and the insurgents by order of Carvajal stood firm to receive them. When tolerably near, Carvajal gave orders for a small number of his troops to fire their musquets, on which the royalists made a general discharge, and marched forwards at a quick step with levelled pikes, during which the royalist musqueteers made a second discharge without occasioning any loss to the enemy, as they were still three hundred paces distant. Carvajal made his men reserve their fire till the enemy was within about an hundred paces; when, with a few pieces of artillery, and the whole of his musqueteers, he threw in so destructive a volley that above an hundred and fifty of the royalists were slain, among whom were two of their captains. By this terrible slaughter, the whole infantry of the royalist army was thrown into disorder, entirely defeated, and took to flight, in spite of every effort of Captain Retimoso to rally them, who lay wounded in the field. Notwithstanding the defeat of the infantry, the royalist cavalry made a brave charge against the insurgents, of whom they killed and wounded a considerable number. On this occasion Gonzalo had his horse killed and was thrown to the ground, yet escaped unhurt. Pedro de Rios and Pedro de Ulloa, captains of cavalry belonging to Centeno, wheeled with their squadrons round the wing of the insurgent infantry, intending to charge their flank; but were opposed by the detachments of musqueteers which were posted on the wings, on which occasion De Rios and several others were slain. Being thus repulsed, and seeing their own infantry entirely defeated, the cavalry took likewise to flight and dispersed, every one endeavouring to save himself as he best could.

Gonzalo Pizarro, having thus gained an easy victory, marched on with his army in good order to the camp of Centeno, putting every person to death that came in the way. A considerable number of the dispersed royalists happened to seek safety in passing by the camp of Pizarro, which they found entirely deserted, insomuch that they were able to make use of the horses and mules belonging to the insurgent infantry

infantry to facilitate their flight, and even made a considerable booty in gold and silver. While the royalist cavalry were engaged vigorously with the insurgents, Bachicao, one of Gonzalos captains, believing that the royalists would be victorious, went over to them. After the victory was decided in favour of Gonzalo, Bachicao, imagining that his conduct had not been observed, and would remain unknown, or that he would be able to justify himself under some colourable pretence, returned to his post. But as his defection was known to Carvajal, he caused him to be instantly hung up, adding insulting raillery to his cruelty, calling him his dear comrade and using many other bantering expressions.

During this unfortunate battle, Centeno was so ill that he was carried on a kind of litter by six Indians, almost in a state of insensibility; yet, by the care and attention of some of his friends, he was saved after the defeat of his army. In this bloody engagement, which was fought near a place called Guarina, above three hundred and fifty men were slain on the side of the royalists, besides thirty more who were put to death in the pursuit by the insurgent cavalry. Among these were, the major-general Luis de Ribera, the captains Retamoso, Diego Lopez de Zuniga, Negral, Pantoia, and Diego Alvarez, with Friar Gonzalo of the order of Mercy, and several other persons of condition. The insurgents lost about an hundred men. After the battle, Carvajal pursued the fugitives at the head of the insurgent cavalry for several days, on the road towards Cuzco. He was very anxious to take the bishop of Cuzco, against whom he was much incensed for having joined Centeno and being present in the battle. The bishop however made his escape; but Carvajal gratified his revenge on several royalists whom he got up with, all of whom he hung up without mercy, among whom were a brother of the bishop and a Dominican friar. After the return of Carvajal from the pursuit, Gonzalo made a distribution of lands and Indians among his troops, engaging to put them into possession at a convenient opportunity. He likewise took great care of his wounded men, and caused the slain to be buried. He then sent Bovadilla with a detachment to the city of La Plata and the mines, to collect all the gold and silver that could be procured, and dispatched Diego de Carvajal, usually called the *Beau*, on a similar mission to Arequipa. Juan de la Torre was sent to take possession of

Cuzco,

Cuzco, where he put to death Vasquez de Tapia and the licentiate Martel.

After this favourable turn of affairs, Pizarro issued a proclamation by which all the soldiers who had served under Centeno were commanded to join his standard, under pain of death; granting an amnesty for all that passed, with the exception only of those principal leaders who had particularly exerted themselves for the royal cause. He then sent Pedro de Bustincia with a detachment, to oblige the curacas of Andaguaylas and the neighbouring districts to furnish provisions for his army. A few days afterwards Gonzalo repaired to Cuzco with about four hundred men, and used every effort to put himself into a situation for opposing the president; being so elated by the victory he had gained at Guarina over such superior numbers, that he and his followers believed themselves almost invincible.

While these things were going on in the south of Peru, the president marched by the mountain road for the valley of Jauja, accompanied by the troops which he had brought from the Tierra Firma, and those of the captains Diego de Mora, Gomez de Alvarado, Juan de Saavedra, Porcel, and the others that had assembled in Caxamarca. He sent orders likewise to Salazar, who now commanded at Quito, to join him with all his men; and ordered Lorenzo de Aldana to join him from Lima with all the soldiers from the fleet and those he had drawn together after the flight of Gonzalo to Arequipa. The president arrived first of all at Jauja with an escort of an hundred men, where he immediately took the proper measures for collecting arms and military stores, and provisions. On the same day he was joined by the licentiate Carvajal and Gabriel de Royas; and soon afterwards Ferdinand Mexia de Guzman, and Juan Alphonzo Palamino arrived with their companies. Lorenzo de Aldana remained at Lima with his own company, it being of great importance to keep possession of that city and its post. In a short time the president had collected an army of above fifteen hundred men in Jauja, and employed all the forges and artists he could procure to fabricate new musquets, to put all the old ones into good repair, and to provide abundance of pikes and all other arms, both offensive and defensive. In these preparations he not only exerted the utmost diligence, but shewed a great deal of intelligence and knowledge, far beyond what could have been expected from a person who had hitherto been entirely

tirely occupied in civil and religious pursuits. He carefully visited his camps, and inspected the workmen who were employed by his orders, taking at the same time every possible care of such of his soldiers as were sick, exerting himself to the utmost in every thing relative to the good of the service, beyond what could have been expected from any single person, by which means he acquired the entire confidence and affection of all who were under his command. His army had always been in hope that their services would not be required, and even at one time believed that the president would not have had occasion to assemble an army, as they thought that Centeno was strong enough to have conquered Gonzalo.

Immediately on receiving intelligence of the victory which Gonzalo had gained at Guarina, the president sent the captains Lope Martin and Mercadillo, with a detachment of fifty men, to occupy the passes of Guamanga, about thirty leagues from Jauja on the way to Cuzco, to learn the motions of the enemy, and to collect all who might have been able to escape from Cuzco. While at Guamanga, Lope Martin got notice that Pedro de Bustincia was in the district of Andahuaylas collecting provisions for the army of Gonzalo, as formerly mentioned. Accompanied by fifteen mounted musqueteers, Martin went into that district, where he unexpectedly attacked Bustincia during the night, and made him and all his people prisoners. After hanging some of these men, he returned to Guamanga, bringing all the curacas of the neighbourhood along with him, by whose means intelligence was conveyed to all parts of the country, giving notice of the arrival of the president in the valley of Jauja, and the great preparations he was making in that place.

From Jauja the president sent his lieutenant-general, Alfonzo de Alvarado, to bring up from Lima all the soldiers that could be spared from that place, together with some pieces of artillery from the ships, and clothes and money for the supply of such of the soldiers as were in want; all of which services were performed by Alvarado in a short time. The president now mustered his army, of which Pedro Alfonzo de Hinojosa was lieutenant-general, and the licenciate Bendicto de Carvajal carried the royal standard, Don Pedro de Cabrera, Gomez de Alvarado, Juan de Saavedra, Diego de Mora, Francisco Hernandez, Rodrigo de Salazar, and Alfonzo de Mendoza were captains of cavalry; Don Balthazar de Castillo, Pablo de Menezes, Hernando Mexia de Guzman, Juan Al-

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fonzo Palamino, Gomez de Solis, Francisco Mosquera, Don Ferdinand de Cardinas, the adelantado Andagoya, Francisco d'Olmos, Gomez d'Arias, and three other captains, Porcel, Pardaval, and Serna, commanded the infantry. Gabriel de Royas was appointed to command the artillery. Besides the military officers already mentioned, the president was attended by the archbishop of Lima, the bishops of Cuzco and Quito, the provincials of the Dominicans and of the order of Mercy, and by several other ecclesiasties, both priests and friars. On a general muster and review of the army, it was found to consist of seven hundred musqueteers, five hundred pikemen, and four hundred cavalry. Afterwards, on arriving at Xaquixaguana on the march towards Cuzco, it was augmented to nineteen hundred men, by the junction of several other detachments, forming the largest and best appointed army hitherto seen in Peru.

The president, having completed his preparations, began his march from Jauja in good order on the 19th of December 1547, taking the route of Cuzco, and especially desirous of crossing the river Abancay[5] in some safe place. In this part of his march he was joined by Pedro de Valdivia, the governor of Chili. Valdivia had come by sea to Lima, on purpose to raise men, and to procure various stores of which he was in want, with clothing and ammunition, on purpose to enable him to proceed in the conquest of Chili. On his arrival at Lima, and learning the situation of affairs in Peru, he determined upon joining the president. His arrival was considered as an indication of good fortune; for, although the president had already in his army many officers of merit and capacity, and of eminent rank and fortune, there was not any one in Peru who possessed so much experience in the manner of conducting war like operations in that country as Valdivia, on which account he was considered as a fit person to be opposed to the experience and stratagems of Carvajal, who was much dreaded by every one in the presidents army, more especially since the late defeat of Centeno, which was entirely attributed to the talents of Carvajal. About the same time Centeno joined the president with more than thirty horse, who had accompanied him ever since the defeat of Guarina. Continuing his march amid considerable difficulties, owing to the

5 Rather the Pachacamac, near which the town or city of Abancay is situated, and where probably the president proposed to pass that river.—E.

the scarcity of provisons, the president at length reached the province of Andahuaylas, where he judged it proper to remain during the winter, on account of the violent rains which fell night and day almost without ceasing, by which the tents were all rotted. The maize which they procured as food for the troops was all wet and spoiled, by which a considerable number of the soldiers were afflicted with dysentery, of which some died, notwithstanding the care taken of the sick by Francisco de la Rocha, a Trinitarian monk, who acted as physician to the army. Although there were above four hundred sick at one time, so great was the care bestowed, that they were as well attended and as plentifully supplied with medicines as if in a populous city, insomuch that they almost all recovered.

The arrival of Valdivia and Centeno diffused much joy through the army, which was expressed in frequent feasts and entertainments, with concerts of music, running at the ring, and similar amusements. During the continuance of the army in winter quarters at Andahuaylas, the general Hinojosa with Alfonzo de Alvarado and Valdivia applied themselves indefatigably to have every thing in the best possible order for taking the field. On the commencement of spring, and when the rains began sensibly to diminish, the army broke up from Andahuaylas and marched to the bridge of Abancay, about twenty leagues from Cuzco, where it halted until bridges were constructed across the Apurimac at the distance of twelve leagues from Cuzco [6], as the enemy had broken down all the bridges over that river, and it was necessary either to construct new ones, or to make a circuit of more than seventy leagues to get to Cuzco. On purpose to distract the enemy, the president caused materials for the construction of bridges to be carried to three different points on the Apurimac; one on the great road of the Incas [7], a second in the valley of Cotabamba, about twelve leagues farther up the river, and a third still farther up the Apurimac, at a village belonging to Don Pedro de Puertocarrero, where that officer was posted with a hundred men to guard the passage. For the construction

6 Abancay on the Pachacamac is not above 14 Spanish leagues from Cuzco in a straight line. The other bridges mentioned in the text must have been thrown over the Apurimac Proper, somewhere near the town or village of Limatambo.--E.

7 This was probably by Limatambo, as on the great road the Incas had palaces for lodging in with their attendants, called *tambos*.--E.

struction of these bridges cables and ropes were prepared, after the manner of the native Peruvians as formerly described in our general account of the country; and beams and pillars were got ready on which to fix the cables when the army should be collected at the intended place of passing the river. Had Gonzalo been able to ascertain the place at which it was intended to pass, he had assuredly opposed the royalists, and would at least have made it exceedingly difficult for them to construct a bridge; but as he could not ascertain the actual point fixed on, he did not consider it safe to divide his force so as to oppose the royalists at the three points of demonstration, and satisfied himself therefore by posting spies at the different places, to bring him immediate notice of the place where the royalists might begin their operations, that he might know where to march to oppose them. But the secret was confined to the knowledge of the president, and the members of his council of war.

When all the materials were in readiness, the army began its march for Cotabamba, at which place it was determined to pass the river. In this march the army had to encounter very considerable difficulties in passing through mountains covered with snow. Several of the captains were of opinion that this was an improper route, and proposed another place almost fifty [8], leagues higher up; but Lope Martin, who guarded the pass of Cotabamba, always insisted that the securest passage was to be had at that place. In consequence of this difference of opinion, the president sent Valdivia and three other captains to examine the different places; and on their report that Cotabamba was attended by the least difficulty and danger, that place was fixed upon. When Lope Martin got information that the army approached to Cotabamba, he set to work with the Spaniards and Indians of his detachment, to extend and tighten the cables and ropes across the river, of which the main support of the bridge was to be composed. Three of the cables were already fixed, when the spies employed by Gonzalo came to the place, and cut two of them without resistance. On this intelligence being communicated to the army, it gave much concern to the president and his officers, lest Gonzalo might bring up his forces to

8 This may probably be an error of the press in the original for *fifteen* leagues. Fifty leagues even from Abancay would have carried the army almost to Arequipa, to turn the head of the Apurimac, and among the highest mountains of Peru.---E.

to dispute the passage before the army could be able to get over. The president, therefore, accompanied by his principal officers, Hinojosa Alvarado and Valdivia, hastened to the scite of the bridge, where he immediately gave orders for some companies of infantry to pass the river on Peruvian flat boats or rafts, which was deemed a very hazardous enterprize, both on account of the rapidity of the current, and because it was believed the enemy might be in some force on the other side. Among the first who got over was Hondegardo with a few soldiers, after whom several other captains of infantry got across with their men, so that before night above four hundred men were got over, some of whom swam over their horses along with the flat boats, holding them by the bridles, and having their musquets and other arms tied to the saddles. Yet so rapid was the current, that above sixty horses were lost on this occasion, either drowned or dashed against the rocks.

On receiving notice from his spies that a part of the royalists had got across the river, Gonzalo sent off Juan d'Acosta with two hundred mounted musqueteers, with orders to give no quarter to any of those who had passed the river, excepting such as had newly come from Spain. On the approach of Acosta, as the royalists then on that side of the river were not numerous, they mounted a considerable number of Indians and negroes on the horses which had been got over, arming them with lances, and by that means presented the appearance of a formidable squadron drawn up on a height, the few Spanish troops who were on that side of the river being placed in the front rank; insomuch that, when Acosta went to reconnoitre, they appeared so numerous that he did not venture to attack, and returned for a reinforcement. In the mean time, the bridge being got ready with the utmost possible diligence, most of the royalists passed the river, every one expressing the utmost astonishment at the negligence of Gonzalo in not being at hand to dispute the passage, as a hundred men at each of the three places where preparations had been made for passing, might have rendered the attempt exceedingly hazardous.

Next day, when all the army with its stores and followers had passed the river, Don Juan de Sandoval was sent out upon discovery, who reported on his return that he had advanced three leagues into the country without seeing any thing of the insurgents. Hinojosa and Valdivia were then ordered

ordered to advance with several companies of infantry to occupy the passes in the neighbouring mountain, as Gonzalo might have given them much trouble if he had taken possession of these heights, which were above a league and a half in ascent; and this order was happily executed without meeting with any resistance. When Acosta retreated from the river, in consequence of believing himself too weak to attack those who had passed, he sent to demand a reinforcement from Gonzalo of a hundred musqueteers, with the aid of whom he alleged he would be enabled to defeat the royalist party which had crossed. At this time one Juan Nunnez de Prado deserted from him to the president, and gave him notice of the succours which were expected by Acosta. Believing therefore that Gonzalo would advance with all his forces, the president took post on the ridge of the mountain with above nine hundred men, both cavalry and infantry, and remained under arms all night. Next morning, Acosta advanced with the reinforcement he had demanded, and the scouts of the president brought notice of his approach. On this intelligence, believing the whole army of the insurgents at hand, the president sent his major-general Alfonzo de Alvarado back to the river, to bring up the artillery and the rest of the army: And as the colours of Pizarro came in sight, before the return of Alvarado, the president drew up his nine hundred men in order of battle, giving all the necessary orders in case of being attacked. But in a short time, it was discovered that these precautions were unnecessary, as Acosta soon retreated with his three hundred men, on seeing the greatly superior force of the royalists.

The president remained two or three days in the position he had taken on the summit of the mountain, waiting for his artillery and the rest of his army. While at that place, Gonzalo sent him a message by a priest, demanding that he should dismiss his army, and refrain from making war against him till he should receive new orders from his majesty. On this occasion, the bishop of Cuzco, who was along with the president, ordered the priest into confinement. A little time before this, Gonzalo had dispatched another priest, to endeavour to gain over Hinojosa and Alvarado to his party. But that messenger, being resolved to desert the party of the insurgents, had taken measures in concert with his brother to go off in company with all their effects, in which they succeeded. At this time likewise the president wrote to Gonzalo,

lo, as he had repeatedly done during his march, earnestly entreating him to submit to the orders of his majesty, and sending him at the same time a copy of the amnesty. The usual manner in which these dispatches was forwarded to Gonzalo, was by means of the scouts of the army, who had orders to give them to those belonging to Gonzalo when they chanced to meet.

When it was known at Cuzco that the president had crossed the river Apurimac with all his army, and had taken possession of the pass in the high mountain, Gonzalo Pizarro immediately marched out from that city with his army and encamped at Xaquixaguana, about five leagues from Cuzco, in a plain through which the road passed by which the royalists would have to march on their way from the mountain towards Cuzco. His army at this time consisted of five hundred and fifty musqueteers, with six pieces of cannon, and three hundred and fifty cavalry and pikemen. Gonzalo established his camp in a very strong position, as it was only accessible in front by means of a very narrow defile, one flank being secured by a river and morass, the other flank by the mountain, and the rear by precipitous rocks. During two or three days, that the two armies remained near each other before the battle, Gonzalo sometimes detached a hundred and sometimes two hundred men to skirmish with similar parties of the enemy. As the royalist army was now encamped only at a short distance from the insurgents, Gonzalo was afraid his troops might lose courage by noticing the vast superiority of the enemy in number, and that many of his men might abandon him; for which reason he always drew up his men under cover of a rising ground near his camp, pretending that he did so to induce the president to attack him in his present advantageous post, confiding in his numbers and believing the insurgents much fewer than they really were.

After the president had passed the mountains and pitched his camp on the descent towards the plain, within view of the insurgents, Gonzalo drew up his army in order of battle, and caused some discharges to be made from his cannon and musquetry. On that day there arose so thick a mist, that the scouts and spies of the two armies often came against each other unexpectedly. Seeing that the insurgents were disposed to await his attack, or even to give battle, the president was inclined to defer bringing matters to that extremity for

some time, in the hope that a considerable number of the enemy might come over to him if they could find an opportunity. Yet, as the season was exceedingly cold, even accompanied with strong frost, and as wood could not be procured for making fires, and provisions were scarce, it was impossible to remain long in a state of inaction. The army of Gonzalo was not subject to any of these inconveniencies, having plenty of provisions brought regularly from Cuzco, and being encamped in a comfortable and temperate situation in comparison with the position of the president, whose camp was on the slope of the mountain, while that of the insurgents was in the plain or valley below. Such is the difference in the temperature of Peru at very inconsiderable distances, that on the mountains a severe cold is experienced, accompanied by frost and snow, while only at eight or ten miles distance in the valley the inhabitants are obliged to use precautions to relieve them from excessive heat.

Gonzalo and his lieutenant-general, Carvajal, had formed an arrangement for a night attack upon the president, intending to have assailed his camp in three points at the same time; but they were induced to abandon this project, in consequence of the desertion of one of their soldiers named Nava, who communicated their intentions to the president. By this person and some others who had joined him from the army of Gonzalo, the president was advised to delay coming to battle as long as possible; as they were certain that many of the followers of Gonzalo would take the first favourable opportunity of returning to their duty, more especially those soldiers who had served under Centeno, and who had been constrained after his defeat to enter into the ranks of the insurgents to save their lives. In expectation of the proposed attack, the president kept his army the whole of that night under arms, by which they suffered much distress from the extreme coldness of the weather on the mountain, so that many of the soldiers were hardly able to keep hold of their arms, and waited impatiently for day. At daylight, a party of musqueteers belonging to Gonzalo was observed in march to gain possession of a height in the neighbourhood of the royal camp. Mexia and Palomino were immediately detached, with three huudred musqueteers, to dislodge them, and Valdivia and Alvarado advanced in the same direction, so that the enemy were soon forced to retire. During this skirmish, the president marched down

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from the mountain with the main body of his army, in the direction of Cuzco, under cover of the hill on which the skirmish had taken place; and, to distract the attention of the enemy, a small detachment of cavalry and infantry was ordered to advance in view of the insurgent camp from that hill. On the arrival of Valdivia and Alvarado at the top of the hill, observing that it was possible to cannonade the camp of the enemy from that place, they sent orders to Gabriel de Royas to bring up the artillery. On this occasion, De Royas promised a reward of five hundred crowns for each ball that should reach the enemy: In fact he paid that sum about a year afterwards to one of his gunners, who sent a ball through the tent of Gonzalo, which was exceedingly conspicuous, by which one of his pages was slain. In consequence of this incident, Gonzalo ordered all the tents to be struck, that they might not serve as marks for the cannoneers of the president. He likewise ordered his own artillery to commence firing, and drew up his army in order of battle, taking his own station at the head of his cavalry, which was commanded by the licentiate Cepeda and Juan d'Acosta. Carvajal was at the head of the infantry, having under him the captains Juan de la Torre, Diego Guillen, Juan Velasquez de Guevara, Francisco Maldonado, and Sebastian de Vergara. Pedro de Soria commanded his artillery. When the insurgent army was drawn up in order of battle, the numerous Indians that were attached to it quitted the camp, and posted themselves in view of both armies on the slope of a neighbouring hill.

While the artillery on both sides kept up a constant fire, the royalist army descended from the mountain without keeping any regular order, and in all possible haste, the cavalry all on foot leading their horses, both on account of the ruggedness of the ground and the better to avoid the cannonade from the enemy, as they had no shelter from the balls. Immediately on getting down to the plain, the troops were drawn up in order of battle; the infantry in two battalions in the centre, and the cavalry on the two wings. The cavalry of the left wing was commanded by the captains Juan Saavedra, Diego de Mora, Rodrigo Salazar, and Francisco Hernandez de Aldana. The royal standard was displayed by the licentiate Carvajal in the right wing, in which likewise were posted the captains Don Pedro de Cabrera, Alfonso Mercadillo, and Gomez de Alvarado. The infantry march-

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ed between the wings of horse, but a little farther in advance, under the captains Ramirez, De Castro, De Solis, Cardenas, Menezes, Mosquera, De la Cerna, Urbina, Aliaga, De Robles, De Arias, and De Olmos. A little in advance of the infantry, Alfonso de Mendoza marched with his troop of horse to commence the attack, accompanied by Centeno, who was determined to exert himself on this occasion in revenge for his defeat at Guarina. Pedro de Villavicentio acted as serjeant-major or adjutant-general of the army. The president, accompanied by the archbishop of Lima, was a little on one side, on the slope of the mountain, by which the major-general Alvarado and Valdivia brought down the artillery and the three hundred musqueteers commanded by Mexia and Palomino. On getting into the plain, this body of musqueteers divided in two, Mexia marching to the right along the river, and Palomino keeping to the left along the skirts of the mountain.

While the royalist artillery was coming down the mountain, the licentiate Cepeda, Garcilasso de la Vega, and Alfonso de Piedra, with several other perons of rank and some private soldiers, abandoned Gonzalo to surrender themselves to the president. They were closely pursued by Pedro Martin de Cicilia and some others of the insurgents, who wounded several of these deserters. The horse of Cepeda was killed under him by the thrust of a lance, and himself wounded, and he had assuredly been either taken or killed unless promptly succoured by order of the president. In the mean time Gonzalo kept his troops in firm array, waiting for the enemy, and in expectation that they might attack him in confusion and be easily defeated, as had happened in the battle of Guarina. Hinojosa on his side, advanced with the royalists in the best order and at a slow pace, to within musquet-shot of the insurgents, where he halted in some low ground, in such a situation that his men were secure from the cannon-balls of the enemy, which all flew over their heads, although the gunners used every effort to depress their guns so as to fire low. At this time the platoons of musquetry on the wings of both armies kept up a close fire, Alvarado and Valdivia using every effort to cause their men take good aim, while the president and archbishop encouraged their gunners to fire quickly and to purpose; making them often change the direction of their guns, as circumstances appeared to require.

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Observing that several of the soldiers of Gonzalo were endeavouring to abandon him and were hotly pursued, Centeno and Mendoza advanced with the cavalry under their command, on purpose to protect all who wished to come over. All those who quitted the insurgents, urged the commanders of the royal army not to advance to the charge, as they were certain the far greater part of the army of Gonzalo would abandon him, so that he would be easily defeated without any danger to the royalists, and with little effusion of blood. At this time, a platoon of thirty musqueteers, finding themselves near the royal army, came over in a body and surrendered themselves. Gonzalo wished to have these men pursued and brought back; but the attempt threw his troops into confusion, and his whole army began instantly to break up, some fleeing towards Cuzco, while others went over to the president and surrendered themselves, Some of the insurgent officers were so confounded by this sudden and universal derout, that they neither had presence of mind to flee or to fight. On seeing this hopeless turn of his affairs, Gonzalo lost all courage, and exclaimed in despair, "Since all surrender to the king, so must I also." It is reported, that Juan d'Acosta endeavoured to encourage him, saying, "let us rush upon the thickest of the enemy, and die like Romans;" to which Gonzalo is reported to have answered, "It is better to die like Christians."

At this time, Gonzalo observing the serjeant-major of the royalists near him, surrendered to him, giving up a long small sword which he had used instead of a lance, as he had previously broken his lance upon some of his own men who were running away. He was immediately conducted to the president, to whom he used some very imprudent expressions, and by whom he was committed to the custody of Centeno. About the same time with Gonzalo, most of his officers were made prisoners. The lieutenant-general Carvajal endeavoured to save himself by flight, meaning to hide himself among some tall reeds in a marsh during the night; but his horse stuck fast in the morass, and he was brought prisoner to the president by some of his own men. In the pursuit, some of the insurgents were killed, but most of their officers were made prisoners.

After the entire derout of the enemy, the soldiers of the royal army pillaged the camp of the insurgents, where they made a prodigious plunder in gold, silver, horses, mules, and rich

rich baggage, by which many of them acquired considerable riches, some individuals having acquired so much as five or six thousand ducats. One of the soldiers happened to fall in with a fine mule having a load on his back, which seemed to consist only of clothes, he therefore cut the cords and threw off the load, carrying off the mule alone; immediately after which three other soldiers, more experienced in such matters, opened up the pack, which they found to contain a considerable quantity of gold and silver wrapped up in Indian cloaks for better concealment, worth five or six thousand ducats.

As the army was much fatigued by the operations of that day, besides being under arms all night, the president allowed the men to rest one day, yet thought it necessary to dispatch the two Captains Mexia and De Robles with their companies to Cuzco, to prevent those soldiers who had pursued the fugitives towards that place from entering and plundering the city and killing a number of the inhabitants; more especially as many might now feel inclined to act from particular enmity towards such as had given them offence during the late troubles, under pretence of following up the victory. Those captains were likewise directed to secure such of the officers and soldiers of the defeated army as had fled in that direction. Next day, the president gave orders to the licentiate Cianca, one of the new oydors, and Alfonzo de Alvarado, his major-general, to bring the prisoners to trial. No other proof was requisite against Gonzalo Pizarro than his own acknowledgment and the notoriety of his having been in open rebellion against the sovereign. He was condemned to be beheaded, and that his head should be fixed in a niche or recess on the gibbet at Lima, secured by a trellis or net-work of iron through which it might be visible, with this inscription above. "The head of Gonzalo Pizarro, a traitor and rebel, who revolted against the royal authority in Peru, and presumed to give battle to the army under the royal standard in the valley of Xaquixaguana." His whole estates and property of every kind were confiscated; and his house in Cuzco was ordered to be rased, and salt sown upon its scite, on which a pillar or monument was to be erected with a suitable inscription to perpetuate the remembrance of his crime and condign punishment. Gonzalo was executed on the day of his trial, dying like a good Christian.

While in prison and till his death, Centeno, to whose custody

tody he had been committed, treated him with much civility, and would not allow any one to insult his fallen greatness. When about to be put to death, Gonzalo made a gift of the magnificent dress which he then wore to the executioner; but Centeno paid its full value to the executioner, that the body might not be stripped and exposed till carried away for interment; and next day he had it carried to Cuzco and respectfully buried. Bnt the head, pursuant to the sentence, was carried to Lima.

On the same day in which Pizarro was beheaded, his lieutenant-general Carvajal was drawn and quartered, and eight or nine of the insurgent captains were hanged; and in the sequel several others of the principal persons concerned in the revolt were punished when taken[9]. On the day following the president went to Cuzco with all his army, whence he sent Alfonzo de Mendoza with a detachment into Las Charcas, to make prisoners of those who had been sent into that district by Gonzalo in quest of silver, and such as might have fled thither from the battle. On account of the rich mines in the province of Las Charcas, especially Potosi, it was supposed that many of the fugitives had taken refuge in that place, to which Hondegardo was sent as lieutenant-governor and captain-general, with orders to chastise all those of the inhabitants who had been guilty either of favouring Gonzalo, or of neglecting to repair to the royal standard on the summons of the president. Along with Hondegardo, Gabriel de Royas was sent as receiver of the royal fifth and other tributes belonging to the king, and of the fines which the governor might inflict on the disaffected and recusants. As De Royas soon died, Hondegardo had to discharge the united functions of governor and receiver of the province, and in a short space of time he amassed treasure to the amount of 3,600,000 livres[10], which he transmitted to the president.

The president remained for some time at Cuzco, occupied in

9 Yet the Historian of American, II. 392., says that "Gasca, happy in his bloodless victory, did not stain it with cruelty; Pizarro, Carvajal, and a small number of the most distinguished or notorious offenders being punished capitally." The executions seem however to have been sufficiently numerous, considering that the whole rebel army before the battle was only nine hundred strong, many of whom went over to the victor, and all the rest disbanded without fighting.—E.

10 L.157,000, if French livres are to be understood, and worth near a million sterling at the present value of money compared with that period.—E.

in punishing the insurgents according to the greatness of their crimes. Those whom he deemed most guilty, he condemned to be drawn in pieces by four horses, others he ordered to be hanged; some to be whipt, and others were sent to the galleys. He applied himself likewise with much attention to restore the kingdom to good order. In virtue of the authority confided to him by the king, he granted pardons to all who, having been in arms in the valley of Xaquixaguana, had abandoned Gonzalo and joined the royal standard. These pardons referred to all public crimes of which they had been guilty during the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, yet leaving them liable to answer in civil actions for every thing respecting their conduct to individuals. This battle of Xaquixaguana, which will be long famous in Peru, was fought on Monday the 9th of April 1548.

When the president had dispatched the most urgent affairs connected with the suppression of the rebellion, there yet remained an object of great importance for the quiet of the kingdom, which was surrounded with many difficulties. This was with regard to the dismissal of the army, in such a manner that so great a number of soldiers set free from the restraints of discipline might not occasion troubles similar to those now put an end to. On purpose to succeed in this delicate affair, the utmost prudence was requisite, as almost every soldier in the army considered himself entitled to one of the best of the vacant repartimientos, and as the number of the troops exceeded 2500 men, while there were only 150 repartimientos to distribute. Hence it was quite obvious, that instead of being able to gratify every claimant, far the greater part must be dissatisfied. After a serious deliberation on this important subject, the president went to a place in the province of Apurimac, about twelve leagues from Cuzco, accompanied only by the archbishop and one secretary, on purpose to have leisure for mature reflection at a distance from the perpetual importunities of the claimants. In this place, they made the best distribution in their power of the vacant repartitions, giving sufficient means of living in a respectable manner to the captains and other persons of consideration, each in proportion to their respective merits and the services they had been of in suppressing the late rebellion, giving new repartitions to those who had none, and increasing those of others. On this occasion it was found that they had vacant repartitions to distribute to the value of a million

of

of gold crowns in yearly rent. The greater number of the most valuable and extensive repartitions had become vacant during the troubles, partly from their former possessors having been put to death by Gonzalo, either under pretence of guilt in opposing his rebellion, or in the various engagements during the troubles. The president had likewise capitally punished several to whom Gonzalo had given repartitions. It must however be remarked, that several of these most valuable repartimientos had been retained by Gonzalo for his own benefit, under pretence of providing for the expences of the war.

In making the new grants, the president retained the power of granting pensions upon some of the most extensive repartitions, of three or four thousand ducats from each, more or less according to their respective values, on purpose to have the power of dividing the money among such soldiers as he could not otherwise reward, to enable them to procure arms, horses, and other necessaries, meaning to send them off in various directions to discover and subdue the country which was hitherto unoccupied. Having thus regulated every thing to the best of his power, the president thought proper to retire to Lima, and sent the archbishop to Cuzco to publish the regulations and distribution of repartimientos, and to make payment of the several rewards in money which had been agreed upon. The arrangement of this affair occasioned much dissatisfaction among the soldiers, every one believing himself better entitled to some allotments of lands and Indians than several of those who had acquired such grants. All the fair speeches and promises of the archbishop and the principal officers were insufficient to quiet the murmurs and discontents of the troops, which even produced some commotions and seditious conspiracies, in which it was proposed to seize upon the archbishop and the chief officers of the army and government, and to send the licentiate Cienca with a remonstrance to the president, demanding of him to recal the repartition which he had decreed, and to make a new one more favourable to their wishes. They even threatened to revolt, and to take possession by force of what they considered due to their services. The licentiate Cienca, who had been appointed chief justice at Cuzco, had established so excellent a system of police that he had immediate notice of all these plots and commotions, and was soon enabled to restore order and tranquillity by arresting and punishing the principal agitators

tators of these threatened troubles, by which he effectually checked the spirit of mutiny and insubordination, and averted at least for the present the danger of a new civil war in the kingdom.

Before leaving Cuzco, the president had renewed the commission of Valdivia as governor of Chili, as a reward for the services he had rendered in the late war against Gonzalo. On purpose to provide the reinforcements of men, horses, and arms, which were necessary for defending and extending his conquests in that province, Valdivia went to Lima as the most convenient situation for procuring what he wanted. Having completed all his preparations, he embarked all his men and military stores at the port of Callao, and sent them off for Chili; but chose to go himself by land to Arequipa, where he proposed to take shipping in his way back to his government. A report was made to the president, that Valdivia had engaged some officers and soldiers from among those who had been sentenced to banishment from Peru, and even some of those who had been condemned to the galleys, on account of the share they had taken in the late rebellion. In consequence of this information, the president sent his lieutenant-general Hinojosa with orders to bring Valdivia before him to answer for his conduct in these things which were laid to his charge. As Valdivia was accompanied by a considerable number of men he believed himself in condition to resist this mandate, and refused the earnest solicitations of Hinojosa to go back along with him to the president. But, as Hinojosa observed that Valdivia took no precautions to prevent his arrest, and had no suspicions that any force would be used against him, he resolved to attempt to make him prisoner with the assistance only of six musqueteers, in which he succeeded without opposition. In this situation, Valdivia very properly determined to submit with a good grace, and so satisfactorily explained his conduct to the president, that he was allowed to resume his voyage, and to take all those people along with him whom he had engaged.

Every thing in Peru being now reduced to good order, the president gave permission to all the citizens and other inhabitants of the country, who had hitherto served in his army, to retire to their homes, to look after the re-establishment of their private affairs, which had suffered great injury from the unavoidable losses experienced during the rebellion, and their own necessary expences in the field. He likewise sent off

off several officers with detachments upon new discoveries, and appointed the licentiate Carvajal lieutenant-governor of Cuzco, taking up his own residence at Lima, which was the seat of government. About this time an hundred and fifty Spaniards arrived at the city of La Pláta, having travelled all the way from the mouth of the Rio Plata under the command of Domingo de Yrala to that part of the country which had formerly been discovered by Diego de Royas, and were now come into Peru to solicit the president to appoint some one to act as governor of the country on the Rio Plata which they proposed to settle. He accordingly nominated Diego de Centeno to that new government, with authority to raise as many more men as he could procure, to enable him to complete the discovery and conquest of that country. When all their preparations were completed, and they were on the point of setting out on the march, Centeno died, and the president appointed another captain in his place.

The Rio Plata, or River of Silver, derives its source from the high mountains continually covered with snow which lie between the cities of Lima and Cuzco[11]. From these mountains four principal rivers flow, which derive their names from the provinces through which they pass. The Apurimac, Vilcas, Abancay, and Jauja. This last derives its source from a lake in the province of Bombon[12], the most level and yet the highest plain in all Peru, where accordingly it snows or hails almost continually. This lake is quite crowded with small islands, which are covered with reeds, flags, and other aquatic plants, and the borders of the lake are inhabited by many Indians.

In the late war against Gonzalo Pizarro, the president incurred enormous expences for the pay and equipment of his troops, for the purchase of horses, arms, and warlike stores, and the fitting out and provisioning of the ships which he employed. From his landing in the Tierra Firma to the day of his

11 Zarate is extremely erroneous in his account of the sources of the Rio Plata. All the streams which rise from the Peruvian mountains in the situation indicated, and for seven or eight degrees farther south, and which run to the eastwards, contribute towards the mighty Maranon or River of the Amazons.—E.

12 This is an egregious mistake; the Rio Jauja rises from the lake of Chinchay Cocha in the province of Tarma, and runs *south* to join the Apurimac. The river Guanuco rises in the elevated plain of Bombon, and runs *north* to form the Gualagua, which joins the Lauricocha or Tanguragua.—E.

his final victory over Gonzalo, he had expended on these necessary affairs more than nine hundred thousand dollars, most of which he had borrowed from the merchants and other private individuals, as all the royal revenues had been appropriated and dissipated by Gonzalo. After the re-establishment of tranquillity, he applied himself to amass treasure with the utmost diligence, both from the fifths belonging to the king, and by means of fines and confiscations; insomuch that after payment of his debts, he had a surplus of above a million and a half of ducats, chiefly derived from the province of Las Charcas.

In his arrangements for the future government of the country, in conformity with the royal ordinance, he took much care to prevent the Indians from being oppressed. In consequence of the fatigues which they underwent, in the carriage of immense loads, and by numbers of the Spaniards wandering continually about the country attended by a train of Indians to carry their baggage, vast numbers of them had perished. Having re-established the royal audience, or supreme court of justice, in Lima, he applied earnestly to regulate the tributes which were to be paid by the Indians to the Spaniards upon fixed principles, which had not been hitherto done on account of the wars and revolutions which had distracted the country ever since its discovery and conquest. Before this new arrangement, every Spaniard who possessed a repartimiento or allotment of lands and Indians, used to receive from the curaca or cacique of his district such tribute as he was able or willing to pay, and many of the Spaniards often exacted larger sums from their Indians than they were well able to afford, frequently plundering them of their hard-earned property with lawless violence. Some even went so far as to inflict tortures on their Indians, to compel them to give up every thing they possessed, often carrying their cruelty to such a pitch as to put them to death in the most wanton and unjustifiable manner. To put a stop to these violent proceedings, the taxes of each province and district were regulated in proportion to the number of Indian and Spanish inhabitants which they respectively contained; and, in forming their arrangements, the president and judges carefully inquired into the productions of each province; such as its mines of gold and silver, the quantity of its cattle, and other things of a similar nature, the taxes on which were all regulated according

ing to circumstances in the most reasonable and equitable manner.

Having thus reduced the affairs of the kingdom to good order, all the unemployed soldiers being sent off to different places, some to Chili, others to the new province on the Rio Plata, and others to various new discoveries under different commanders, and all who remained in Peru being established in various occupations by which they might maintain themselves, according to their inclinations and capacities, mostly in the concerns of the mines, the president resolved to return into Spain, pursuant to the authority he had received from his majesty to do so when he might see proper. One of his most powerful motives for returning to Spain proceeded from his anxiety to preserve the large treasure he had amassed for the king; as, having no military force for its protection, he was afraid such great riches might excite fresh troubles and commotions in the country. Having made all the necessary preparations for his voyage, and embarked his treasure, without communicating his intentions hitherto to any one, he assembled the magistrates of Lima, and informed them of his intended voyage. They started many objections to this measure; representing the inconveniencies which might arise from his departure, before his majesty had sent out some other person to replace him, either in the capacity of viceroy or president. He answered all their objections, stating that the court of royal audience, and the governors of the different provinces which they were authorized to nominate, were sufficient to dispense justice and to regulate all affairs, they at last consented; and immediately embarking, he set sail for Panama.

Just before he sailed and while on board ship, the president made a new partition of such lands and Indians as had become vacant since the former distribution which he made at Cuzco. The number of vacant repartimientos was considerable, in consequence of the death of Centeno, De Royas, the licentiate Carvajal, and several other persons of rank; and as there were many candidates who demanded loudly to be preferred, he chose to defer the repartition till after he had embarked, as he was unable to satisfy all the claimants, and was unwilling to expose himself to the clamours of those whom he was unable to gratify. Having settled all these distributions, he left the different deeds signed and sealed with the secretary of the royal audience, with strict injunctions that they should

should not be opened until eight days after his departure. Every thing being finally concluded, he set sail from the port of Callao in December 1549, accompanied by the Provincial of the Dominicans and Jerom de Aliaga, who were appointed agents for the affairs of Peru at the court of Spain. He was likewise accompanied by several gentlemen and other considerable persons, who meant to return to Spain, carrying with them all the wealth they had been able to acquire.

The voyage to Panama was prosperous. The president and all who were along with him immediately landed at that place, and used the utmost diligence to transport all the wealth belonging to his majesty and to individuals, to Nombre de Dios, to which place they all went, and made proper preparations for returning to Spain. Every one treated the president with the same respect as when he resided in Peru, and he behaved towards them with much civility and attention, keeping open table for all who chose to visit him. This was at the royal expence; as the president had stipulated for all his expences being defrayed by his majesty, before leaving Spain on his mission to Peru. In this he acted with much and prudent precaution; considering that the former governors had been accused of living penuriously in proportion to their rich appointments, and being satisfied that the administration in Spain would not allow him a sufficient income to defray the great expences he must incur in a country where every thing was enormously dear, he declined accepting any specified salary, but demanded and obtained authority to take from the royal funds all that was necessary for his personal expence and the support of his household. He even used the precaution to have this arrangement formally reduced to writing; and in the exercise of this permission he employed a person expressly for the purpose of keeping an exact account of all his expences, and of every thing that was purchased for his table or otherwise, which were all accordingly paid for from the royal coffers.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

Insurrection of Ferdinand and Pedro de Contreras in Nicaragua, and their unsuccessful attempt upon the Royal Treasure in the Tierra Firma.

AT this period an extraordinary attempt was made to intercept the president in his passage through the Tierra Firma, and to gain possession of the royal treasure under his charge, which will require some elucidation for its distinct explanation. When Pedro Arias de Avilla discovered the province of Nicaragua, of which he was appointed governor, he married his daughter Donna Maria de Penalosa to Rodrigo de Contreras, a respectable gentleman of Segovia. Some time afterwards, Pedro Arias died, after having appointed his son-in-law to succeed him in the government, and this appointment was confirmed by the court in consideration of the merits and services of Contreras, who accordingly continued governor of Nicaragua for several years. On the appointment of a royal audience on the confines of Nicaragua and Guatimala, Contreras was displaced from his government; and, in pursuance of the ordinance which had occasioned so much commotion in Peru, both he and his wife were deprived of their repartitions of lands and Indians, and the grants which had been made to their children were likewise recalled. Contreras went in consequence to Spain, to solicit a reparation of the injury he had sustained, representing the services which had been performed to the crown by the discovery, conquest, and settlement of Nicaragua, by his father-in-law and himself; but his majesty and the council of the Indies confirmed the decision of the royal audience, as conformable with the regulations.

On receiving information of the bad success of their father, Ferdinand and Pedro de Contreras were much chagrined, and rashly determined to revolt and seize the government of the province. They persuaded themselves with being joined by a sufficient force for this purpose, confiding in the advice and assistance of a person named Juan de Bermejo, and some other soldiers his companions, who had quitted Peru in much discontent against the president, for not having sufficiently rewarded them, in their own opinions, for their services in the

war

war against Gonzalo. Besides these men, several of those who had fought under Gonzalo had taken refuge in Nicaragua, having been banished by the president from Peru, all of whom joined themselves to the Contreras on this occasion. By these people the young men were encouraged to erect the standard of rebellion, assuring them, if they could pass over into Peru with two or three hundred men, sufficiently armed, that almost the whole population of the kingdom would join their standards, as all were exceedingly dissatisfied with the president for not rewarding their services sufficiently. The Contreras accordingly began secretly to collect soldiers, and to provide arms for this enterprize; and deeming themselves sufficiently powerful to set justice at defiance, they resolved to commence their revolt. As they considered the bishop of Nicaragua among the most determined enemies of their father, they began their operations by taking vengeance on him; for which purpose they sent some soldiers to his house, who assassinated him while playing chess. After this, they openly collected their followers and displayed their standard, assuming the title of the *Army of Liberty*; and seizing a sufficient number of vessels, they embarked on the Pacific Ocean with the intention of intercepting the viceroy on his voyage from Lima to Panama, intending to plunder him of all the treasure he was conveying to Spain. For this purpose they steered in the first place for Panama, both to gain intelligence of the proceedings of the president, and because the navigation from thence to Peru was easier than from Nicaragua.

Embarking therefore with about three hundred men, they made sail for Panama, and on their arrival at that place they learnt that the president had already disembarked with all his treasure and attendants. They now believed that every thing was favourable to their intentions, and that by good fortune their desired prey had fallen into their hands. Waiting therefore till night, they entered the port as quietly as possible, believing that the president was still in Panama, and that they might easily execute their enterprize without danger or resistance. Their intelligence however was exceedingly defective, and their hopes ill founded; for the president had left Panama with all his people three days before, having previously sent off all his treasure to Nombre de Dios, to which place he was likewise gone. In fact, by this diligence, the president avoided the impending danger, without having the

slightest suspicion that any such might befal. Immediately on landing, the brothers were informed that the president had already left the place; on which they went to the house of Martin Ruiz de Marchena, treasurer of the province, where they took possession of the money in the royal coffers, amounting to 400,000 pesos in base silver, which had been left there by the president in consequence of not having sufficient means of transporting it to Nombre de Dios along with the rest. After this they dragged Marchena, Juan de Larez, and some other respectable inhabitants to the public square, threatening to hang them all unless they gave immediate notice where the arms and money belonging to the province were deposited. But all their threats were unable to force any discovery, and they carried on board their ships all the treasure and other valuable plunder they had procured.

Believing that the farther success of their enterprize depended on the diligence they should exert in reaching Nombre de Dios to surprize the president, before he might have time to embark or prepare for his defence, they determined to proceed to that place without delay. For this purpose, it was arranged that Ferdinand de Contreras should march to Nombre de Dios with the greater part of the troops, while Juan de Bermejo was to take post with an hundred men on a height near Panama, to protect the rear of Ferdinand, to prevent pursuit, to be in readiness to receive the valuable booty they expected, and to intercept such of the attendants on the president as might escape in that direction from Nombre de Dios. In the mean time, Pedro de Contreras was to remain on board with a small number of men to protect the ships. All this was done accordingly; but matters turned out in quite a different manner from their expectations. Marchena got some information respecting their plan of operations, and sent off two confidential intelligent negroes to give notice to the president of what had occurred in Panama, and of the ulterior designs of the Contreras. One of these negroes was directed to travel the whole way by land, and the other to go by way of the small river Chagre, which route had been taken by the president.

This river has its source in the mountains between Panama and Nombre de Dios. Its course at first seems tending towards the Pacific Ocean; but it suddenly makes a turn at a cataract, and after a farther run of fourteen leagues it falls

into the Atlantic; so that by means of a canal only five leagues in length, from that river to the South Sea, a navigation might be easily established between the two seas. It is true that it would be necessary to cut this canal through mountains, and in a country exceedingly uneven and full of rocks, so that the design has hitherto appeared impracticable. Hence, in going from Panama to Nombre de Dios by the river Chagre, it is necessary to travel by land in the first place to that river below the fall, a distance of five leagues. After descending to the mouth of the river, there still remains five or six leagues to go by sea to Nombre de Dios. The messenger who was sent by this road came up with the president before his arrival at Nombre de Dios, and gave him an account of the events which had taken place at Panama. Though much alarmed by this intelligence, he communicated it to the provincial and the officers who accompanied him without appearing to be under any apprehensions; but, on embarking on the North Sea, it fell so dead a calm that they could make no progress, and he could not then conceal his fears of the event. Still however preserving his presence of mind, he sent off Hernan Nunnez de Segura by land to Nombre de Dios, accompanied by some negroes who knew the country, with orders for all the inhabitants of that place to take up arms for the protection of the treasure which had been sent there. Segura had a most difficult and fatiguing journey on foot, having several rivers to cross, some of them by swimming, and to pass through woods and marshes in a road through which no person had travelled for a long while. On his arrival at Nombre de Dios, he found the news already communicated to that place, by the other negro, and that the inhabitants were already in arms, and had prepared as well as they were able to defend themselves, having landed the crews of nine or ten vessels which were in the harbour to give their assistance in repelling the rebels. The president arrived shortly afterwards, where he found every thing in order for defence; and immediately marched out at the head of the armed inhabitants on the road towards Panama, determined to give battle to Contrera in case of his approach.

When Ferdinand de Contrera marched for Nombre Dios, and Bermejo took post on the hill near Panama, as formerly mentioned, Marchena and De Larez believed they might be able to defeat Bermejo in the divided state of the rebels.

For this purpose they re-assembled all the inhabitants of Panama, most of whom had taken refuge in the mountains, with whom they joined a considerable number of negroes who were employed as labourers in husbandry and in driving mules with goods between Panama and Nombre de Dios. By these means they assembled a respectable force, which they armed as well as circumstances would allow. Having thrown up some intrenchments of earth and fascines in the streets, and leaving some confidential persons to protect the town against the small number of rebels left in the ships with Pedro de Contreras, they marched out boldly against Bermejo, whom they vigorously attacked. After some resistance, they gained a complete victory, killing or making prisoners of the whole of that detachment. After this complete success, Marchena determined immediately to march for Nombre de Dios, believing that the inhabitants of that city, on learning the late events at Panama, would have armed for their defence, and would even take the field against Ferdinand de Contreras, and being more numerous than his detachment, would oblige him to retire to form a junction with Bermejo. Accordingly, when Ferdinand de Contreras had proceeded about half way to Nombre de Dios, he learnt that the president had got notice of the approach of the rebels, and had marched out against them with a superior force; on which Ferdinand de Contreras resolved to return to Panama.

While on his return, he took some negroes from whom he got notice of the entire defeat of Bermejo, and of the advance of Marchena against himself. He was so disconcerted by this intelligence, that he allowed all his men to disperse, desiring them to save themselves as they best might, and to endeavour to get to the shore, where his brother would take them on board the ships. They all separated, and Ferdinand with some of his people struck into the woods, avoiding the public road, that they might escape Marchena. As the country was much intersected with rivers, and Ferdinand was little accustomed to encounter such difficulties, he was drowned in an endeavour to pass one of the rivers. Several of the followers of Ferdinand were made prisoners, and it was never known what became of the others. The prisoners were carried to Panama, where they, and those others who were taken at the defeat of Bermejo, were all put to death.

When Pedro de Contreras, who remained on board the ships,

ships, got intelligence of the miserable fate of his comrades, he was so much alarmed that he would not take time to hoist anchor and make sail, but threw himself into a boat with some of his men, leaving the ships at anchor with all the plunder untouched. He coasted along for a considerable way to the province of Nata; after which no farther intelligence was ever received either of him or any of those who were along with him, but it was supposed they were all massacred by the Indians of that country. On getting intelligence of the favourable termination of this threatening affair, the president returned to Nombre de Dios, giving thanks to God for having delivered him from this unforseen danger. Had the rebels arrived at Panama only a few days sooner, they might easily have made him prisoner, and would have acquired a much larger booty then ever fell into the hands of pirates.

Tranquillity being entirely restored, the president embarked with his treasure, and arrived safely in Spain. One of his vessels, in which Juan Gomez de Anuaya was embarked, with part of the royal treasure, was obliged to put back to Nombre de Dios: But, having refitted at that port, she likewise arrived in Spain. Immediately on landing at San Lucar, the president sent Captain Lope Martin into Germany, where the emperor then was, to inform his majesty of his safe arrival from Peru. This news was exceedingly agreeable to the court, and occasioned much astonishment at the prompt and happy termination of the troubles, which had appeared so formidable and difficult to appease. Soon after the arrival of the president at Valladolid, he was appointed bishop of Placentia [1], then vacant in consequence of the death of Don Luis Cabeza de Vaca; and his majesty sent orders that he should come to court, to give a minute account of all the affairs in which he had been engaged. He went there accordingly, accompanied by the provincial of the Dominicans, and Jerom de Aliaga, the deputies or agents of the kingdom of Peru, and by several other gentlemen and persons of consideration, who were in expectation of getting some rewards from his majesty for their loyal services during the late commotions. The new bishop accordingly embarked at Barcelona,

1 In the Royal Commentaries of Garcilasso de la Vega, p. 876, he is said to have been first appointed to the bishopric of Placentia, and to have been afterwards translated to that of Ciguenza in 1561 by Philip II. which he enjoyed till his death in 1577.

lona, along with his companions, in some galleys which were appointed for the purpose; taking along with him, by order of his majesty, half a million of dollars of the treasure he had brought from Peru. Shortly afterwards, his majesty appointed Don Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy of New Spain, to assume that office in Peru; sending Don Luis de Velasco, commissary-general of the customs of Castille, to succeed Mendoza in the viceroyalty of New Spain.

END OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF PERU,
BY AUGUSTINO ZARATE.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF PERU, FROM THE RESTORATION OF TRANQUILLITY BY GASCA IN 1549, TO THE DEATH OF THE INCA TUPAC AMARU; EXTRACTED FROM GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA.

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING now given at considerable length the authentic histories of the discovery and conquest of the two greatest of the European colonies in the New World, Mexico and Peru, from original and contemporary authors whose works had not before appeared in any English Collection of Voyages and Travels, we now propose to give, as a kind of supplement or appendix to the excellent history of Zarate, an abridged deduction of the principal events in Peru for some time after the departure of the president De la Gasca from that kingdom, extracted from the conclusion of the Royal Commentaries of Peru by Garcilasso de la Vega Inca, Part II. Book VI. VII. and VIII. Having formerly given some account of that work, not very favourable to the character of that descendant of the Incas as a historian, it may only be here mentioned that the events to be now related on his authority all occurred in his own time, and that the relation of them which he has left would have been greatly more valuable

able if he had been pleased to favour us more frequently with their dates.

In the present eventful period, while Spain, once the terror of Europe, seems in danger of sinking under the tyrannical grasp of the usurper of France, a vast revolution appears about to elevate the Spanish American colonies into extensive independent states; if the jealous collision of rights, interests, and pretensions between the various races of their inhabitants do not plunge them into all the horrors of civil war and anarchy. The crisis is peculiarly interesting to all the friends of humanity, and it is to be wished that the present commotions may soon subside into a permanent state of peace and good government, advantageous to all the best interests of the colonists, and beneficial to the commerce and industry of the rest of the world.

Before proceeding to the abridged history of events in Peru, subsequent to the departure of the president De la Gasca, the following reflections on the state of manners among the early Spanish settlers in that opulent region, during the period of which we have already given the history, as drawn by the eloquent pen of the illustrious Historian of America, have appeared most worthy of insertion[1].

"Though the Spaniards who first invaded Peru were of the lowest order in society, and the greater part of those who afterwards joined them were persons of desperate fortune, yet in all the bodies of troops brought into the field by the different leaders who contended for superiority, not one acted as a hired soldier or followed his standard for pay. Every adventurer in Peru considered himself as a conqueror, entitled by his services to an establishment in that country which had been acquired by his valour. In the contests between the rival chiefs, each chose his side as he was directed by his own judgment or affections. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortune, and disdained to degrade himself by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was to their sword, not to pre-eminence in office or nobility of birth, that most of the leaders whom they followed were indebted for their elevation; and each of their adherents hoped, by the same means, to open a way for himself to the possession of power and wealth.

"But though the troops in Peru served without any regular

1 Hist of America, II. p. 393.

gular pay, they were raised at an immense expence. Among men accustomed to divide the spoil of an opulent country, the desire of obtaining wealth acquired incredible force. The ardour of pursuit augmented in proportion to the hope of success. Where all were intent on the same object, and under the dominion of the same passion, there was but one mode of gaining men, or of securing their attachment. Officers of name and influence, besides the promise of future establishments, received large gratuities in hand from the chief with whom they engaged. Gonzalo Pizarro, in order to raise a thousand men, advanced five hundred thousand pesos. Gasca expended in levying the troops which he led against Pizarro nine hundred thousand pesos. The distributions of property, bestowed as the reward of services, were still more exorbitant. Cepeda as the reward of his perfidy, in persuading the court of royal audience to give the sanction of its authority to the usurped jurisdiction of Pizarro, received a grant of lands which yielded an annual income of an hundred and fifty thousand pesos. Hinojosa, who, by his early defection from Pizarro, and surrender of the fleet to Gasca, decided the fate of Peru, obtained a district of country affording two hundred thousand pesos of yearly value. While such rewards were dealt out to the principal officers, with more than royal munificence, proportional shares were conferred on those of inferior rank.

"Such a rapid change of fortune produced its natural effects. It gave birth to new wants, and new desires. Veterans, long accustomed to hardship and toil, acquired of a sudden a taste for profuse and inconsiderate dissipation, and indulged in all the excesses of military licentiousness. The riot of low debauchery occupied some; a relish for expensive luxuries spread among others. The meanest soldier in Peru would have thought himself degraded by marching on foot; and, at a time when the price of horses in that country was exorbitant, each individual insisted on being furnished with one before he would take the field. But, though less patient under the fatigues and hardships of service, they were ready to face danger and death with as much intrepidity as ever; and, animated by the hope of new rewards, they never failed, on the day of battle, to display all their ancient valour.

"Together with their courage, they retained all the ferocity by which they were originally distinguished. Civil discord never raged with a more fell spirit than among the Spaniards

niards in Peru. To all the passions which usually envenom contests among countrymen, avarice was added, and rendered their enmity more rancorous. Eagerness to seize the valuable forfeitures expected upon the death of every opponent, shut the door against mercy. To be wealthy was, of itself, sufficient to expose a man to accusation, or to subject him to punishment. On the slightest suspicions, Pizarro condemned many of the most opulent inhabitants of Peru to death. Carvajal, without searching for any pretext to justify his cruelty, cut off many more. The number of those who suffered by the hand of the executioner, was not much inferior to what fell in the field; and the greater part was condemned without the formality of any legal trial.

"The violence with which the contending parties treated their opponents was not accompanied by its usual attendants, attachment and fidelity to those with whom they acted. The ties of honour, which ought to be held sacred among men, and the principle of integrity, interwoven as thoroughly in the Spanish character as in that of any nation, seem to have been equally forgotten. Even regard for decency, and the sense of shame, were totally abandoned. During these dissensions, there was hardly a Spaniard in Peru who did not abandon the party which he had originally espoused, betray the associates with whom he had united, and violate the engagements under which he had come. The viceroy Nunnez Vela was ruined by the treachery of Cepeda and the other judges of the royal audience, who were bound to have supported his authority. The chief advisers and companions of Gonzalo Pizarro in his revolt were the first to forsake him, and submit to his enemies. His fleet was given up to Gasca, by the man whom he had singled out among his officers to entrust with that important command. On the day that was to decide his fate, an army of veterans, in sight of the enemy, threw down their arms without striking a blow, and deserted a leader who had often conducted them to victory. Instances of such general and avowed contempt of the principles and obligations which attach man to man, and bind them in social union, rarely occur in history. It is only where men are far removed from the seat of government, where the restraints of law and order are little felt, where the prospect of gain is unbounded, and where immense wealth may cover the crimes by which it is acquired, that we can find any parallel to the levity

levity, the rapaciousness, the perfidy, and corruption prevalent among the Spaniards in Peru."

SECTION I.

Incidents in the History of Peru, from the departure of Gasca, to the appointment of Don Antonio de Mendoza as Viceroy.

AMONG those who were dissatisfied with the distribution of the repartimientos in Peru by the president, was Francisco Hernandez Giron, to whom De la Gasca granted a commission to make a conquest of the district called the Cunchos, to the north-east of Cuzco, and beyond one of the great chains of the Andes, with the title and authority of governor and captain-general of that country, which he engaged to conquer at his own expence. Giron was much gratified by this employment, as it afforded him a favourable opportunity for fomenting and exciting a new rebellion against the royal authority, which he had long meditated, and which he actually put in execution, as will be seen in the sequel. Immediately after the departure of the president from Peru, he went from Lima to Cuzco, publishing the commission which he had received, and appointed several captains to raise men for his intended expedition in Guamanga, Arequipa, La Paz, and other places; while he personally beat up for volunteers in Cuzco. Being a man of popular manners and much beloved among the soldiers, he soon drew together above two hundred men. So great a number of the most loose and dissolute inhabitants being collected together at Cuzco and in arms, they took extreme liberty in canvassing the late events, and to speak with much licentiousness respecting the president and the officers he had left in the government of the kingdom. Their discourse was so open and scandalous, that the magistrates of the city deemed it necessary to interpose; and Juan de Saavedra, who was then mayor or regidor of Cuzco, requested Giron to depart upon his intended expedition without delay, that the peaceable inhabitants might no longer be scandalized by the seditious discourses of his soldiers, as most of them were quartered upon the citizens to whom they behaved with much insolence.

I was then in Cuzco, though a boy, when Giron and his soldiers made their first disturbance; and I was present also about

about three years afterwards at their second mutiny; and, though I had not even then attained the age of a young man, I was sufficiently able to notice and understand the observations and discourses of my father on the various events which occurred; and I can testify that the soldiers behaved in so proud and insolent a manner that the magistrates were forced to take notice of their conduct. The soldiers thought proper to be much offended on this occasion, pretending that no one ought to have any authority over them except Giron, under whose command they had inlisted; and they carried their mutinous insolence to such a height as to assemble in arms at the house of their commander to protect themselves against the magistrates. When this mutiny was known in the city, the magistrates and citizens found themselves obliged to arm; and being joined by many soldiers who were not of the faction, they took post in the market-place. The mutineers drew up likewise in the street where Girons house stood, at no great distance from the market-place; and in this manner both parties remained under arms for two days and nights, always on the point of coming to action; which had certainly been the case if some prudent persons had not interposed between them, and prevailed on the magistrates to enter into a treaty for compromising their differences. The most active persons on this occasion were Diego de Silva, Diego Maldonado the rich, Garcilasso de la Vega my father, Vasco de Guevara, Antonio Quinnones, Juan de Berrio, Jeronimo de Loyasa, Martin de Meneses, and Francisco Rodriguez. By their persuasions the regidor Juan de Saavedra and Captain Francisco Hernandez Giron were induced to meet in the great church, on which occasion the soldiers demanded four hostages for the security of their commander. In this conference Giron behaved with so much insolence and audacity, that Saavedra had assuredly arrested him if he had not been restrained from respect for the hostages, of whom my father was one. In a second conference in the evening, under the same precautions, Giron agreed to remove his soldiers from the city, to give up eight of the most mutinous of his soldiers to the magistrates, and even to make compearance in person before the court to answer for his conduct during the mutiny.

On being made acquainted with this agreement, the soldiers were exceedingly enraged; and if Giron had not pacified them with soothing words and promises they had certainly attacked

tacked the loyal inhabitants, the consequences of which might have been exceedingly fatal. The mutineers amounted to two hundred effective well-armed men, of desperate fortunes, while the loyalists consisted of only eighty men of quality, all the rest being rich merchants not inured to arms. But it pleased God to avert the threatened mischief, at the prayers and vows of the priests, friars and devout women of the city. The mutineers were under arms all night, setting regular guards and sentinels as in the presence of an enemy; and in the morning, when Saavedra saw that Giron had not marched from the city according to agreement, he sent a warrant to bring him before his tribunal. As Giron suspected that his men might not permit him to obey the warrant, he walked out in his morning gown, as if only going to visit a neighbour; but went directly to the house of Saavedra, who committed him to prison. On this intelligence being communicated to the soldiers, they immediately dispersed, every one shifting for himself as he best could. The eight men who were particularly obnoxious took sanctuary in the Dominican convent, and fortified themselves in the tower of the church, where they held out for several days, but were at last obliged to surrender. They were all punished, but not in that exemplary manner their rebellious conduct deserved; and the tower was demolished, that it might not be used in the same manner in future.

After the dispersion of the mutineers and the punishment of the most guilty, Giron was released on his solemn engagement to make his appearance before the royal audience at Lima to answer for his conduct. He went there accordingly, and was committed to prison; but after a few days was permitted to go out as a prisoner at large, confining himself to the city of Lima. He there married a young virtuous noble and beautiful lady, with whom he went to reside at Cuzco, where he associated with none but soldiers, avoiding all society with the citizens as much as possible.

About two years afterwards several soldiers residing in Cuzco, entered into a new plot to raise disturbances in the kingdom, and were eager to find some proper person to choose as their leader. At length this affair came to be so openly talked of that it reached the knowledge of Saavedra, who was required to take cognizance of the plot and to punish the ringleaders; but he endeavoured to excuse himself, being unwilling to create himself enemies, alleging that it more pro-

perly

perly belonged to the jurisdiction of the court of audience. When this affair was reported to the oydors at Lima, they were much displeased with the conduct of Saavedra, and immediately appointed the marshal Alonzo de Alvarado to supersede him in the office of regidor or mayor of Cuzco, giving Alvarado an especial commission to punish the insolence and mutinous conduct of the soldiers, to prevent the evil from getting to an unsupportable height. Immediately on taking possession of his office, Alvarado arrested some of the soldiers; who, to screen themselves, impeached Don Pedro de Puertocarrero as a principal instigator of their mutinous proceedings. After a minute examination, Francisco de Miranda, Alonzo Hernandez Melgarejo, and Alonzo de Barrienuevo were capitally punished as chief ringleaders in the conspiracy; six or seven others were banished from Peru, and all the rest made their escape. Puertocarrero made an appeal to the royal audience, by whom he was set at liberty.

These new commotions, and others of more importance which shall be noticed in the sequel, proceeded in a great measure from the imprudent conduct of the judges themselves, by enforcing the observance of the obnoxious regulations which had formerly done so much evil during the government of the viceroy Blasco Nunnez Vela. Just before his departure from Peru, the president Gasca had received fresh orders from his majesty to free the Indians from services to their lords: But having experienced that this had occasioned the most dangerous commotions in the country, he very wisely commanded before his departure that the execution of this new order should be suspended. The judges however, saw this matter in a different light, and circulated their commands over the whole kingdom to enforce this new royal order; which gave occasion to the mutinous and disorderly behaviour of the soldiery, who were encouraged in their rebellious disposition by many persons of consideration, the possessors of allotments of lands and Indians, who considered themselves aggrieved.

SECTION

SECTION II.

History of Peru during the Viceroyalty of Don Antonio de Mendoza.

ABOUT this time Don Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy of Mexico, was appointed viceroy of Peru, and landed at Lima, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy and respect. He was accompanied on this occasion by his son, Don Francisco de Mendoza, afterwards general of the galleys in Spain. Don Antonio was a nobleman of much sanctity, and had greatly impaired his health by long abstinence and frequent acts of penance; insomuch that his natural heat began to fail, and he was obliged to use violent exercise to keep him warm, even in the hot climate of Lima. In consequence of his want of health, he deputed his son Don Francisco to make a progress through all the cities of the kingdom, from Lima to Las Charcas and Potosi, to bring him back a faithful representation of the state and condition of the kingdom and its mines, to be laid before his majesty; and, after his return to Lima, Don Francisco was sent into Spain in 1552, to communicate an account of the whole kingdom to the emperor.

About four years before the appointment of the marshal Alonzo de Alvarado to the mayoralty and government of Cuzco, a party of two hundred soldiers marched from Potosi towards the province of Tucuman; most of whom, contrary to the orders of the judges, had Indians to carry their baggage. On this occasion, the licentiate Esquivals, who was governor of Potosi, seized upon one Aguira, who had two Indians to carry his baggage; and some days afterwards sentenced him to receive two hundred lashes, as he had no money to redeem himself from corporal punishment. After this disgrace, Aguira refused to proceed along with the rest for the conquest of Tucuman, alleging that after the shame which he had suffered, death was his only relief. When the period of Esquivals office expired, he learnt that Aguira had determined upon assassinating him in revenge for the affront he had suffered. Upon which Esquival endeavoured to avoid Aguira, by travelling to a great distance, but all to no purpose, as Aguira followed him wherever he went, for above three years, always travelling on foot without shoes or stockings,

stockings, saying, "That it did not become a whipped rascal to ride on horseback, or to appear in the company of men of honour." At length Esquival took up his residence in Cuzco, believing that Aguira would not dare to attempt any thing against him in that place, considering that the governor was an impartial and inflexible judge: Yet he took every precaution for his safety, constantly wearing a coat of mail, and going always armed with a sword and dagger, though a man of the law. At length Aguira went one day at noon-day to the house of Esquival, whom he found asleep, and completed his long resolved revenge by stabbing him with his dagger. Aguira was concealed for forty days in a hog-stye by two young gentlemen; and after the hue and cry was over on account of the murder, they shaved his head and beard, and blackened his skin like a negro, by means of a wild fruit called *Vitoc* by the Indians, clothing him in a poor habit, and got him away from the city and province of Cuzco in that disguise. This deed of revenge was greatly praised by the soldiers, who said, if there were many Aguiras in the world, the officers of justice would not be so insolent and arbitrary in their proceedings.

During a long sickness of the viceroy, in consequence of which the government of the country devolved upon the judges of the royal audience, they proclaimed in all the cities of Peru that the personal services of the Indians should be discontinued, pursuant to the royal orders, under severe penalties. This occasioned new seditions and mutinies among the Spanish colonists, in consequence of which one Luis de Vargas, a principal promoter of the disturbances was condemned and executed; but as many principal persons of the country were found to be implicated, the judges thought fit to proceed no farther in the examinations and processes. Even Pedro de Hinojosa was suspected of being concerned in these seditious proceedings, having been heard to say to some of the discontented soldiers, that when he came to Las Charcas he would endeavour to satisfy them to the utmost of power. Though these words had no seditious tendency, the soldiers who were desirous of rebellion were willing to interpret them according to their own evil inclinations. On these slight grounds, and because it was known that Hinojosa was to go as governor and chief justice of the province of Las Charcas, as many of the discontented soldiers as were able went to that country, and wrote to their comrades in various

parts

parts of the kingdom to come there also. Some even of the better sort, among whom were Don Sebastian de Castilla, son to the Conde de Gomera, with five or six others of rank and quality went secretly from Cuzco, taking bye-paths out of the common road to prevent them from being pursued by the governor of that city. They were induced to this step by Vasco Godinez a ringleader among the malcontents, who informed Don Sebastian by a letter in cyphers that Hinojosa had promised to become their general.

During these indications of tumult and rebellion, the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza died, to the great grief and detriment of the kingdom. On his death, the entire government of the kingdom of Peru devolved on the judges of the royal audience, who appointed Gil Ramirez de Avalos, who had been one of the gentlemen of the household to the viceroy, governor of the city of Lima; and the marshal was sent to command in the new city of La Paz, in which neighbourhood his lands and Indians were situated.

SECTION III.

Narrative of the Troubles in Peru, consequent upon the Death of the Viceroy Mendoza.

AT this threatening period, all the soldiers and discontented persons of Peru, flocked to Las Charcas, Potosi, and that neighbourhood, endeavouring to procure employment about the rich mines of that district. Disputes continually arose between the soldiers and principal inhabitants and merchants, and duels were fought almost daily. In some of these duels, the combatants fought naked from the waist upwards, while in others they were dressed in crimson taffety waistcoats, that they might not see their own blood. I shall only mention the particulars of one of these duels, between two famous soldiers, Pero Nunnez, and Balthazar Perez, with the former of whom I was acquainted in 1563 at Madrid, who was then so much disabled in both arms by the wounds he received in that duel, that he could scarcely use his hands to feed himself.

They fell out respecting some circumstances of a duel that had happened a few days before, in which they were seconds. Balthazar Perez had Egas de Guzman for his second, one of the

the greatest hectors and bullies of the time; and Hernan Mexia prevailed on Pero Nunnez to take him for his second, that he might have an opportunity to fight Guzman, who had defamed and spoken lightly of Mexia. When Egas de Guzman understood that Mexia was the person who was to be opposed to him, he sent a message to Pero Nunnez saying, as the principals were gentlemen of family, he ought not to debase himself by having a man for his second whose mother was a *Morisca* and sold broiled sardinas in the market of Seville. Pero Nunnez, knowing this to be true, endeavoured to get Mexia to release his promise, but could not prevail. They accordingly went out to fight in a field at some distance from Potosi. At the first rencounter of the principals, Pero Nunnez struck his adversaries sword to one side, and closing upon Perez threw him to the ground, where he cast dust into his eyes, and beat him about the face with his fists, but did not stab him with his dagger. In the mean time the seconds were engaged in another part of the field. Mexia was afraid to close with Guzman, knowing him to have great bodily strength, but kept him in play by his superior agility, leaping and skipping about, yet never coming near enough to wound him. At length, wearied with this mode of fighting, Guzman darted his sword at Mexia, who looking anxiously to avoid it, gave an opportunity to Guzman to close with him, and to give him a wound with his dagger in the skull, two fingers deep, where the point of the dagger broke off. Mexia became frantic with his wound, and ran about the field like a madman; and came up to where the two principals were struggling on the ground, where, not minding whom he struck, he gave his own principal a slash with his sword, and ran wildly away. Guzman came hastily up to the rescue of his own principal, when he heard Nunnez say that he had been wounded by his own second, and was still continuing to pummel Perez on the face, and to throw dust in his eyes. Then Guzman, after harshly reproving Nunnez from bringing such a rascal to the field as his second, attacked Nunnez with his sword, who defended himself as he best could with his arms, till he was left all hacked and hewed on the field, streaming with blood from many wounds. Guzman then helped up his companion, and taking all the four swords under his arm, took Perez on his back who was unable to stand, and carried him to an hospital where he desired them to bury him; after which he took sanctuary in a church. Nunnez was likewise

likewise taken to the hospital, where he recovered of his wounds, but Mexia died of the wound in his forehead, as the point of the dagger could not be extracted from his skull.

When Pedro de Hinojosa took possession of his government of Las Charcas in place of Paulo de Meneses, he found a great number of soldiers in the country, who were exceedingly troublesome, as there were neither sufficient quarters nor provisions for so many; on which he took occasion to reprove Martin de Robles and Paulo de Menezes, alleging that their quarrels had drawn so many soldiers thither, for which reason they ought to provide for them, and not allow them to die of famine. So great was the confusion and disturbance, that many of the principal inhabitants retired from the city to their estates in the country, to avoid the violence of the soldiers, who were now come to such a pitch of insolence, that they held public meetings, openly avowed their cabals and plots, and upbraided Hinojosa with his breach of promise, alleging that he had engaged to be their general when he should arrive in Las Charcas. They even declared themselves ready for an insurrection, offering to put themselves under his command. Hinojosa endeavoured to amuse them with hopes, by telling them he expected very soon to receive a commission from the judges to enlarge their conquests by a new war, which would give them an opportunity to rise in arms. Although he had formerly let fall some dubious expressions at Lima, which the soldiers were disposed to consider as promises of support, he was far from any intention of complying with their turbulent and rebellious humours. Being now in possession of his government, with an estate in lands and Indians worth two hundred thousand dollars a-year, he was desirous to enjoy his fortune in peace, and not to risk the loss of these riches by a new rebellion, which he had gained in the former at the loss of Gonzalo Pizarro.

Disappointed in their expectations from Hinojosa, the soldiers consulted how to manage their intended rebellion under another leader, and agreed to kill Hinojosa and to elect Don Sebastian de Castilla as their commander-in-chief; and their design was carried on with so little regard to secrecy that it soon became publickly known in the city of La Plata. Several persons of consideration therefore, who were interested in the peace of the country, communicated the intelligence to Hinojosa, advising him to take precautions for his security, and

to banish these people from his government. One Hondegardo a lawyer was particularly urgent on this occasion; and offered, if Hinojosa would appoint him his deputy for one month, that he would secure both him and the city from the threatened danger of insurrection; but Hinojosa had so much confidence in the power of his office, and the influence of his vast wealth and reputation, that he despised every thing that he did not see with his own eyes, and neglected all their warnings. Being unable to persuade the governor to listen to him, and as the soldiers still proceeded in their rebellious designs, and threw out many threatenings against the governor, Hondegardo prevailed on the guardian of the Franciscan convent to intimate to the governor that he had received communications respecting these proposed schemes of the soldiers in confession, and to urge him to make judicial examinations into the affair and to punish the offenders; yet even this made little impression on Hinojosa. Notwithstanding these and other intimations of the plot, Hinojosa obstinately refused to attend to the suggestions of Hondegardo and others, proudly declaring he had only to hold up his hand to make the soldiers tremble before him.

Impatient of any longer delay, the conspirators came at length to the determination of putting the governor Hinojosa to death, and rising in a general insurrection. The principal ringleaders in this conspiracy were Don Sebastian de Castilla, Egas de Gusman, Basco Godinez, Balthazar Velasquez, and Gomez Hernandez, besides several other soldiers of note, most of whom were then resident in the city of La Plata. Having arranged their plan of operations, Don Sebastian and seven chosen accomplices went one morning to the residence of the governor, as soon as his gate was opened, to execute their vile purpose. The first person they met on entering the house was Alonzo de Castro, the deputy-governor, who questioned them on the reason of their present tumultuous appearance, as they seemed extremely agitated. They immediately put De Castro to death. Then forcing their way into the apartment of Hinojosa, they were astonished to find him gone: But after some search he was found in a retired corner, and dispatched.

After the death of Hinojosa, the conspirators went out to the market-place, proclaiming aloud, God save the king, the tyrant is dead! the common watchword in all the rebellions in Peru. Having collected all their associates, they seized

on

on Pedro Hernandez Paniagua, the person employed by the late president Gasca to carry his letters to Gonzalo Pizarro, Juan Ortiz de Zarate, Antonio Alvarez, and all the wealthy citizens they could lay hold of. Martin de Robles, Paulo de Menezes, and Hondegardo the lawyer, against whom they were particularly incensed, made their escape. After this, they made proclamation by beat of drum, for all citizens and other inhabitants of La Plata, to repair immediately to the market-place and enrol themselves under their standard; on which Rodrigo de Orellana, though then sheriff of the city, and many others, to the amount of a hundred and fifty-two persons, came forwards and inlisted, fearing for their lives in case of refusal. Don Sebastian was elected captain-general and chief-justice, and some days afterwards he got himself appointed mayor of the city: Gomez Hernandez a lawyer was appointed recorder; Hernando de Guillado and Garci Tello de Vega, were made captains; Juan de Huarte serjeant-major, Pedro de Castillo captain of artillery, Alvar Perez Payaz commissary-general, Diego Perez high sheriff, and Bartholomew de Santa Ana his deputy. Rodrigo de Orellana, and many of the citizens, who now joined the rebels, acted merely from fear of losing their lives if they refused or even hesitated, though loyal subjects in their hearts.

Immediately after the murder of Hinojosa, intelligence was sent in various directions of the insurrection, and great numbers of malcontents flocked to the city of La Plata to join the rebels. Among these was Basco Godinez, who had been a chief instigator of the conspiracy, and who seems to have promoted or permitted the elevation of Don Sebastian to be commander-in-chief merely to use him as an instrument of his own ambition, and to screen himself in case of failure at the commencement: For, in a very few days, Don Sebastion was put to death by Godinez and a few confidential associates; and they immediately proclaimed their bloody exploit to the rest of the insurgents, by exclaiming God save the king! the tyrant is slain! He even carried his dissimulation to such a length, as to erect a court of justice to try those who had murdered Hinojosa, in the vain hope of covering his own treasonable conduct, and to make himself and his abettors appear as loyal subjects. The murder of Hinojosa took place on the 6th of March 1553, and the subsequent slaughter of Don Sebastian on the eleventh of the same month, only five days after.

Godinez

Godinez and his associates immediately liberated Juan Ortiz de Zarate and Pedro Hernandez Paniagua from prison, pretending that their great purpose in taking arms was to procure their liberty, to deliver the city from the rebels and traitors who would have ruined it, and to evince their loyalty to the king. In the next place, he called together Zarate, Paniagua, Antonio Alvarez, and Martin Monge, the only citizens then remaining in La Plata, whom he desired to elect him captain-general of the province, and to grant him the vacant lands and Indians which had belonged to Hinojosa to enable him to maintain the dignity of that office. Not daring to refuse any thing in the present situation of affairs, they acceded to his demands, and Godinez was proclaimed lord chief-justice, governor, and captain-general of the province, and successor to Hinojosa in his great estate and rich mines, producing two hundred thousand dollars of yearly revenue. After this, Gomez Hernandez the lawyer was appointed lieutenant-general of the army; and Juan Ortiz and Pedro de Castillo were made captains of foot: pretending on this occasion to communicate a share in the administration of government to the citizens, which they were constrained to accept. Balthazar Velasquez, one of the conspirators, was appointed major-general. Next day Martin de Robles, Paulo de Meneses, Diego de Almendras, and Diego Velasquez returned to the city, having fled from some soldiers that had been sent in search of them by Don Sebastian; and were immediately enjoined to concur with the other citizens in confirming the appointment of Godinez.

When intelligence of the insurrection of the soldiers in La Plata arrived at Cuzco, the citizens put themselves into a posture of defence against the enemy; and, with the consent of the Cabildo, Diego Maldonado, commonly called the rich, was elected governor and captain-general. Garcilasso de la Vega and Juan de Saavedra were made captains of horse; and Juan Julio de Hojeda, Thomas Vasquez, Antonio de Quinnones, and another whose name I have forgot, were made captains of foot. So diligently did these officers apply themselves to raise men, that in five days Juan Julio de Hojeda marched into the city accompanied by three hundred soldiers well armed and appointed. Three days afterwards news came of the death of Don Sebastian, by which they flattered themselves that the war was ended for the present.

By the end of March intelligence was brought to the judges

at Lima of the rebellion of Don Sebastian and the murder of Hinojosa: Six days afterwards, news came that Egas de Guzman had revolted at Potosi; and in four days more advices were brought of the destruction of both these rebels; on which there were great rejoicings at Lima. On purpose to inquire into the origin of these commotions and to bring the ringleaders to condign punishment, the judges immediately appointed Alonzo de Alvarado chief-justice of Las Charcas, giving him the assistance of Juan Fernandez the kings attorney-general, for proceeding against the delinquents. By another commission, Alvarado was nominated governor and captain-general of Las Charcas and all the neighbouring provinces, with full power to levy soldiers, and to defray their pay and equipment and all the necessary expences of the war, from the royal treasury. Godinez was soon afterwards arrested and thrown into prison at La Plata under a strong guard by Alonzo Velasquez. Alvarado the new governor, began the exercise of his authority in the city of La Paz, where he tried a number of rebel soldiers who had concealed themselves on the borders of the lake of Titicaca, whence they had been brought prisoners by Pedro de Encisco. Some of these were hanged, some beheaded, others banished, and others condemned to the gallies. Alvarado went next to the city of Potosi, where many of the followers of Egas de Guzman had been committed to prison, all of whom were treated according to their deserts like those at La Paz. Among the rebels at Potosi was one Hernan Perez de Peragua, a knight of the order of St John of Malta, who had taken part in the rebellion of Don Sebastian. From respect to the order to which he belonged, Alvarado only confiscated his lands and Indians, and sent him a prisoner to be disposed of by the grand master of the order at Malta. It would be tedious to relate the names and numbers of these who were tried, hanged, beheaded, whipt, and otherwise punished on this occasion: But, from the end of June 1553, to the end of November of the same year, the court sat daily, and every day four, five, or six were tried and condemned, who were all punished according to their sentences next day. The unthinking people styled Alvarado a Nero, who could thus condemn so many of a day, yet amused himself afterwards with the attorney-general in vain and light discourses, as if those whom he condemned had been so many capons or turkies to be served up at his table. In the month of October, Basco Godinez

Godinez was put upon his trial, for many heinous offences, and was condemned to be drawn and quartered. But a stop was put to farther proceedings about the end of November, by the news of another rebellion raised by Francisco Hernandez Giron, as shall be related in the sequel.

"The Indians of Cuzco prognosticated this rebellion openly and loudly in the streets, as I heard and saw myself: For the eve before the festival of the most holy sacrament, I being then a youth, went out to see how the two market-places of the city were adorned; for at that time the procession passed through no other streets but those, though since that time, as I am told, the perambulation is double as far as before. Being then at the corner of the great chapel of our lady of the *Merceds*, about an hour or two before day, I saw a comet dart from the east side of the city towards the mountains of the *Antis*, so great and clear that it enlightened all places round with more splendor than a full moon at midnight. Its motion was directly downwards, its form was globular, and its dimensions as big as a large tower; and coming near the ground, it divided into several sparks and streams of fire; and was accompanied with a thunder so loud and near as struck many deaf with the clap, and ran from east to west; which when the Indians heard and saw, they all cried out with one voice, *Auca*, *Auca*, *Auca*, which signifies in their language, *tyrant*, *traitor*, *rebel*[1], and every thing that may be attributed to a violent and bloody traitor. This happened on the nineteenth of June 1553, when the feast of our Lord was celebrated; and this prognostication which the Indians made, was accomplished on the 13th of November in the same year, when Francisco Hernandez Giron began a rebellion, which we shall now relate[2]."

SECTION

1 In the language of Chili at least, *Auca* signifies *free*, or a *freeman*; it is possible however that in an absolute government, the same term may signify a rebel, yet it is a singular stretch of interpretation to make it likewise signify a tyrant.—E.

2 This paragraph, within inverted commas, is given as a short specimen of the taste of Garcilasso, and the respectable talents of his translator, Sir Paul Rycant, in 1688. It gives an account of one of these singular meteors or fire balls, improperly termed a comet in the text, which some modern philosophers are pleased to derive from the moon, and to suppose that they are composed of ignited masses of iron alloyed with nickel. It were an affront to our readers to comment on the ridiculous pretended prognostication so gravely believed by Garcilasso Inca.—E.

Section IV.

Continuation of the Troubles in Peru, to the Viceroyalty of the Marquis de Cannete.

On the 13th of November 1553, a splendid wedding was celebrated at Cuzco, between Alonzo de Loyasa, one of the richest inhabitants of the city, and Donna Maria de Castilla, at which all the citizens and their wives attended in their best apparel. After dinner an entertainment was made in the street, in which horsemen threw balls of clay at each other, which I saw from the top of a wall opposite the house of Alonzo de Loyasa; and I remember to have seen Francisco Hernandez Giron sitting on a chair in the hall, with his arms folded on his breast and his eyes cast down, the very picture of melancholy, being then probably contemplating the transactions in which he was to engage that night. In the evening, when the sports were over, the company sat down to supper in a lower hall, where at the least sixty gentlemen were at table, the ladies being by themselves in an inner room, and from a small court-yard between these apartments, the dishes were served to both tables. Don Balthazar de Castillo, uncle to the bride, acted as usher of the hall at this entertainment. I came to the house towards the end of supper, to attend my father and stepmother home at night. I went to the upper end of the hall, where the governor sat, who was pleased to make me sit down on the chair beside him, and reached me some comfits and sweet drink, with which boys are best pleased, I being then fourteen years of age.

At this instant some once knocked at the door, saying that Francisco Hernandez Giron was there; on which Don Balthazar de Castillo, who was near the door ordered the door to be opened. Giron immediately rushed in, having a drawn sword in his right hand, and a buckler on his left arm; accompanied by a companion on each side armed with partizans. The guests rose in great terror at this unexpected interruption, and Giron addressed them in these words: "Gentlemen be not afraid, nor stir from your places, as we are all engaged in the present enterprize." The governor, Gil Ramirez, immediately retired into the apartment of the ladies, by a door on the left hand. Another door led from the hall to the kitchen and other offices; and by these two doors a considerable

considerable number of the guests made their escape. Juan Alonzo Palomino, who was obnoxious to Giron for having opposed him in a late mutiny, was slain by Diego de Alvarado the lawyer. Juan de Morales, a rich merchant and very honest man, was slain while endeavouring to put out the candles. My father and a number of others, to the number in all of thirty-six, made their escape by means of a ladder from the court-yard of Loyasa into that of the adjoining house, in which I accompanied them, but the governor could not be persuaded to follow them, and was made prisoner by the rebels. My father and all the companions of his flight agreed to leave the town that night, and endeavour to escape to Lima.

Having assembled about an hundred and fifty soldiers, Giron assumed the office of commander-in-chief of the *army of liberty*, appointing Diego de Alvarado the lawyer his lieutenant-general; Thomas Vasquez, Francisco Nunnez, and Rodrigo de Pineda captains of horse; the two last of whom accepted more from fear than affection. Juan de Pedrahita, Nuno Mendiola, and Diego Gavilan were made captains of foot; Albertos de Ordunna standard-bearer, and Antonio Carillo serjeant-major; all of whom were ordered to raise soldiers to complete their companies with every possible expedition. It being reported through the country that the whole citizens of Cuzco had concurred in this rebellion, the cities of Guamanga and Arequipa sent deputies to Cuzco, desiring to be admitted into the league, that they might jointly represent to his majesty the burdensome and oppressive nature of the ordinances imposed by the judges in relation to the services of the Indians. But when the citizens of Guamanga and Arequipa became rightly informed that this rebellion, instead of being the act of the Cabildo and all the inhabitants, had been brought about by the contrivance of a single individual, they changed their resolutions, and prepared to serve his majesty. About this time, the arch rebel Giron caused the deposed governor, Gil Ramirez, to be taken from prison and escorted forty leagues on his way towards Arequipa, and then set free.

Fifteen days after the commencement of the rebellion, finding himself at the head of a considerable force, he summoned a meeting of all the citizens remaining in Cuzco, at which there appeared twenty-five citizens who were lords of Indians, only three of whom were intitled from office to sit in that assembly. By this meeting, Giron caused himself to be elected procurator,

procurator, captain-general, and chief-justice of Peru, with full power to govern and protect the whole kingdom both in war and peace. When news of this rebellion was brought to Lima by Hernando Chacon, who was foster-brother to Giron, the judges would not credit the intelligence, believing it only a false report, to try how the people stood affected to the cause, and therefore ordered Chacon to be imprisoned; but learning the truth soon afterwards, he was set at liberty, and the judges began seriously to provide for suppressing the rebellion, appointing officers and commanders to raise forces for that purpose. They accordingly sent a commission to Alonzo de Alvarado, then at La Plata, constituting him captain-general of the royal army against Giron, with unlimited power to use the public treasure, and to borrow money for the service of the war in case the exchequer should fail to supply sufficient for the purpose. Alvarado accordingly appointed such officers as he thought proper to serve under him, and gave orders to raise men, and to provide arms and ammunition for the war.

Besides the army which they authorized Alvarado to raise and command in Las Charcas, the judges thought it necessary to raise another army at Lima, of which Santillan, one of themselves and the archbishop of Lima were appointed conjunct generals. Orders were likewise transmitted to all the cities, commanding all loyal subjects to take up arms in the service of his majesty, and a general pardon was proclaimed to all who had been engaged in the late rebellions, under Gonzalo Pizarro, Don Sebastian de Castilla, and others, provided they joined the royal army within a certain given time. They likewise suspended the execution of the decrees for freeing the Indians from personal services, during two years, and repealed several other regulations which had given great and general offence to the soldiers and inhabitants, and had been the cause of all the commotions and rebellions which distracted the kingdom for so long a time.

While these measures were carrying on against him, Hernandez Giron was not negligent of his own concerns. He sent off officers with detachments of troops to Arequipa and Guamanga, to induce the inhabitants of these cities to join him, and requiring them by solemn acts of their cabildos to confirm and acknowledge him in the offices he had usurped. He caused the cabildo of Cuzco to write letters to the other cities of Peru to concur in his elevation and to give assistance in

in the cause, and wrote many letters himself to various individuals in Las Charcas and other places, soliciting them to join him. Having collected an army of above four hundred men, besides the detachments sent to Guamanga and Arequipa, he resolved to march for Lima, to give battle to the army of the judges, as he called it, pretending that his own was the royal army, and that he acted in the service of his majesty. At the first he was undetermined, whether it might not be better to march previously against Alvarado, whose party he considered to be the weakest, owing to the great and cruel severity which that officer had exerted against the adherents of the late rebellions: And many judicious persons are of opinion that he would have succeeded better if he had first attacked the marshal, as in all probability he would have got possession of these provinces, and his men would not have deserted from him to a person so universally disliked for his cruelty, as they afterwards did when they marched towards Lima. He accordingly marched from Cuzco and crossed the river Apurimac; immediately after which Juan Vera de Mendoza and five others deserted from him, re-crossed the bridge, which they burnt to prevent pursuit, and returned to Cuzco, where they persuaded about forty of the inhabitants to set out for Las Charcas to join the marshal Alvarado.

At this time Sancho Duarte who was governor of the city of La Paz, raised above two hundred men in the service of his majesty, which he divided into two companies, one of horse and the other of foot. Giving the command of his infantry to Martin d'Olmos, he took the command of the horse himself, and assumed the title of general. With this force he set out for Cuzco, intending to march against Giron, but not to join the marshal Alvarado that he might not submit to his superior command. On his arrival at the bridge over the Rio Desaguadero, he learnt that Giron had left Cuzco to attack Lima, and proposed to have continued his march for Cuzco remaining independent of the marshal. But, in consequence of peremptory commands from Alvarado as captain-general, who highly disapproved of so many small armies acting separately, he returned to his own province.

Pursuing his march for Lima, Hernandez Giron learnt at Andahuaylas that the citizens of Guamanga had declared for his majesty, at which circumstance he was much disappointed.

ed. He proceeded however to the river Villca [1], where his scouts and those of the royal army encountered. He proceeded however to the city of Guamanga, whence he sent orders to Thomas Vasquez to rejoin him from Arequipa. Although the inhabitants of that place, as formerly mentioned, had written to those of Cuzco offering to unite in the insurrection, supposing it the general sense of the principal people; they were now ashamed of their conduct, when they found the rebellion only proceeded from a few desperate men, and declared for the king; so that Vasquez was obliged to return without success. Being now at the head of above seven hundred men, though disappointed in his expectations of being joined by the citizens of Guamanga and Arequipa, Hernandez Giron pursued his march for the valley of Jauja; during which march Salvador de Lozana, one of his officers, who was detached with forty men to scour the country, was made prisoner along with all his party by a detachment from the army of the judges.

Notwithstanding this unforseen misfortune, Giron continued his march to the valley of Pachacamac, only four leagues from Lima, where it was resolved in a council of war to endeavour to surprise the camp of the royalists near the capital. Intelligence of this was conveyed to the judges, who put themselves in a posture of defence. Their army at this time consisted of 300 cavalry, 600 musqueteers, and about 450 men armed with pikes, or 1350 in all. It may be proper to remark in this place, that, to secure the loyalty of the soldiers and inhabitants, the judges had proclaimed a suspension of the obnoxious edicts by which the Indians were exempted from personal services, and the Spaniards were forbidden to make use of them to carry their baggage on journeys; and had agreed to send two procurators or deputies to implore redress from his majesty from these burdensome regulations.

Two days after the arrival of Giron in the valley of Pachacamac, a party of his army went out to skirmish with the enemy, on which occasion Diego de Selva and four others of considerable reputation deserted to the judges. For several days afterwards his men continued to abandon him at every opportunity, twenty or thirty of them going over at a time to the royal army. Afraid that the greater part of his army might

1 The river Cangallo is probably here meant, which runs through the province of Vilcas to the city of Guamanga.—E.

might follow this example, Hernandez Giron found it necessary to retreat from the low country and to return to Cuzco, which he did in such haste that his soldiers left all their heavy baggage that they might not be encumbered in their march. On this alteration of affairs, the judges gave orders to Paulo de Meneses to pursue the rebels with six hundred select men; but the generals of the royal army would not allow of more than a hundred being detached on this service. During his retreat, Giron, finding himself not pursued by the royalists with any energy, marched with deliberation, but so many of his men left him that by the time he reached the valley of Chincha his force was reduced to about 500 men. Paulo de Meneses, having been reinforced, proposed to follow and harass the retreating rebels; but not having accurate intelligence, nor keeping sufficient guard, was surprised and defeated by Giron with some considerable loss, and obliged to retreat in great disorder. Yet Giron was under the necessity to discontinue the pursuit, as many of his men deserted to the royalists.

Sensible of the detriment suffered by the royal interests in consequence of the disagreement between the present generals, Judge Santillan and Archbishop Loyasa, to which the defeat of Meneses was obviously owing, these very unfit persons for military command were displaced, and Paulo de Meneses was invested in the office of commander-in-chief, with Pedro de Puertocarrero as his lieutenant-general. This new appointment occasioned great discontent in the army, that a person who had lost a battle, and rather merited ignominy and punishment for his misconduct, should be raised to the chief command. The appointment was however persisted in, and it was resolved to pursue the enemy with 800 men without baggage.

Hernandez Giron, who retreated by way of the plain towards Arequipa, had reached the valley of Nasca, about sixty leagues to the southwards of Lima, before the confusion and disputes in the royal camp admitted of proper measures being taken for pursuit. At this time, the judges gave permission to a sergeant in the royal army, who had formerly been in the conspiracy of Diego de Royas, to go into the enemys camp disguised as an Indian, under pretence of bringing them exact information of the state of affairs. But this man went immediately to Hernandez, whom he informed of the quarrels among the officers and the discontents in the royal army. He likewise

likewise informed him that the city of San Miguel de Piura had rebelled, and that one Pedro de Orosna was coming from the new kingdom of Grenada with a strong party to join the rebels in Peru. But to qualify this favourable news for the rebels, Giron received notice at the same time that the marshal Alvarado was coming against him from Las Charcas with a force of twelve hundred men. About this time, on purpose to reinforce his army, Giron raised a company of an hundred and fifty negroes, which he afterwards augmented to 450, regularly divided into companies, to which he appointed captains, and allowed them to elect their own ensigns, sergeants, and corporals, and to make their own colours.

In the mean time, the marshal Alonzo de Alvarado, employed himself diligently in Las Charcas to raise men for the royal service, and to provide arms, ammunition, provisions, horses, and mules, and every thing necessary for taking the field. He appointed Don Martin de Almendras, who had married his sister, lieutenant-general, Diego de Porras standard-bearer, and Diego de Villavicennio major-general. Pero Hernandez Paniagua, Juan Ortiz de Zarate, and Don Gabriel de Guzman, were captains of horse. The licentiate Polo, Diego de Almendras, Martin de Alarzon, Hernando Alvarez de Toledo, Juan Ramon, and Juan de Arreynaga, were captains of foot; Gomez Hernandez the lawyer, military alguazil or judge-advocate, and Juan Riba Martin commissary-general. His force amounted to 750 excellent soldiers, all well armed and richly clothed, with numerous attendants, such as had never been seen before in Peru. I saw them myself a few days after their arrival in Cuzco, when they made a most gallant appearance. While on his march to Cuzco from La Plata, Alvarado was joined by several parties of ten and twenty together, who came to join him in the service of his majesty. On his way to Arequipa he was joined by about forty more; and after passing that place, Sancho Duarte and Martin d'Olmos joined him from La Paz with more than two hundred good soldiers. Besides these, while in the province of Cuzco, he was joined by Juan de Saavedra with a squadron of eighty five men of the principal interest and fortune in the country. On entering Cuzco, Alvarado was above 1200 strong; having 300 horse, 350 musqueteers, and about 530 armed with pikes and halberts. Not knowing what was become of Giron, Alvarado issued orders to repair the bridges over the Apurimac and Abancay, intending to pass that

that way in quest of the rebels. But receiving intelligence from the judges, of the defeat of Meneses, and that the rebels were encamped in the valley of Nasca, he ordered the bridges to be destroyed, and marched by the nearest way for Nasca, by way of Parinacocha, in which route he had to cross a rocky desert of sixty leagues.

In this march four of the soldiers deserted and went over to Hernandez Giron at Nasca, to whom they gave an account of the great force with which Alvarado was marching against him, but reported in public that the royalists were inconsiderable in number. Giron, however, chose to let his soldiers know the truth, and addressed his army as follows. "Gentlemen, do not flatter or deceive yourselves: There are a thousand men coming against you from Lima, and twelve hundred from the mountains. But, with the help of God, if you stand firm, I have no doubt of defeating them all." Leaving Nasca, Giron marched by way of Lucanas, by the mountain road, intending to take post on the lake of Parinacocha before Alvarado might be able to reach that place He accordingly left Nasca on the 8th of May [2] for this purpose.

In the mean time pursuing his march, Alvarado and his army entered upon the desert of *Parihuanacocha*, where above sixty of his best horses died, in consequence of the bad and craggy roads, the unhealthiness of the climate, and continued tempestuous weather, though led by hand and well covered with clothes. When the two armies approached each other, Alvarado sent a detachment of an hundred and fifty select musqueteers to attack the camp of Giron, and marched forwards with the main body of his army to support that detachment. An engagement accordingly took place in rough and strong ground, encumbered with trees brushwood and rocks, in which the royalists could make no impression on the rebels, and were obliged to retire with the loss of forty of their best men killed or wounded. In the following night, Juan de Piedrahita endeavoured ineffectually to retaliate, by assailing the camp of Alvarado, and was obliged to retreat at day-break. Receiving notice from a deserter that the rebel army consisted only of about four hundred men, in want of provisions,

2 Although Garcilasso omits the date of the year, it probably was in 1554, as the rebellion of Giron commenced in the November immediately preceding.—E.

sions, and most of them inclined to revolt from Giron and return to their duty, Alvarado determined upon giving battle, contrary to the opinion and earnest advice of all his principal officers and followers. But so strong was the position of the enemy, and the approaches so extremely difficult, that the royal army fell into confusion in the attack, and were easily defeated with considerable loss, and fled in all directions, many of them being slain by the Indians during their dispersed flight.

On receiving the afflicting news of this defeat, the judges ordered the army which they had drawn together at Lima to march by way of Guamanga against the rebels. In the mean time Giron remained for forty days in his camp at Chuquinca, where the battle was fought, taking care of his wounded men and of the wounded royalists, many of whom now joined his party. He sent off however his lieutenant-general towards Cuzco in pursuit of the royalists who had fled in that direction, and ordered his sergeant-major to go to La Plaz, Chucuito, Potosi, and La Plata, to collect men arms and horses for the farther prosecution of the war. At length Giron marched into the province of Andahuaylas, which he laid waste without mercy, whence he went towards Cuzco on receiving intelligence that the army of the judges had passed the rivers Abancay and Apurimac on their way to attack him. He immediately marched by the valley of Yucay to within a league of Cuzco, not being sufficiently strong to resist the royalists; but turned off from that city at the persuasion of certain astrologers and prognosticators, who declared that his entrance there would prove his ruin, as had already happened to many other captains, both Spaniards and Indians.

The army of the judges marched on from Guamanga to Cuzco unopposed by the rebels, their chief difficulty being in the passages of the great rivers, and the transport of eleven pieces of artillery, which were carried on the shoulders of Indians, of whom ten thousand were required for that service only. Each piece of ordinance was fastened on a beam of wood forty feet long, under which twenty cross bars were fixed, each about three feet long, and to every bar were two Indians, one on each side, who carried this load on their shoulders, on pads or cushions, and were relieved by a fresh set every two hundred paces. After halting five days in the neighbourhood of Cuzco, to refresh the army from the fatigues of the

the march, and to procure provisions and other necessaries, the royal army set out in pursuit of the rebels to Pucara [3], where the rebels had intrenched themselves in a very strong situation, environed on every side with such steep and rugged mountains as could not be passed without extreme difficulty, more like a wall than natural rocks. The only entrance was exceedingly narrow and intricate, so that it could easily be defended by a handful of men against an army; but the interior of this post was wide and convenient, and sufficient for accommodating the rebel army with all the cattle provisions and attendants with the utmost ease. The rebels had abundance of provisions and ammunition, having the whole country at their command since the victory of Chuquinca; besides which their negro soldiers brought in provisions daily from the surrounding country. The royal army encamped at no great distance in an open plain, fortifying the camp with an intrenchment breast-high all round, which was soon executed by means of the great numbers of Indians who attended to carry the baggage and artillery. Giron established a battery of cannon on the top of a rising ground so near the royal camp that the balls were able to reach considerably beyond the intrenchment: "Yet by the mysterious direction of Providence, the rebel cannon, having been cast from the consecrated metal of bells dedicated to the service of God, did no harm to man or beast."

After a considerable delay, during which daily skirmishes passed between the adverse parties, Giron resolved to make a night attack upon the camp of the royalists, confiding in the prediction of some wise old woman, that he was to gain the victory at that place. For this purpose he marched out from his natural fortress at the head of eight hundred foot, six hundred of whom were musqueteers, and the rest pikemen, with only about thirty horse. His negro soldiers, who were about two hundred and fifty in number, joined with about seventy Spaniards, were ordered to assail the front of the royal camp, while Giron with the main body was to attack the rear. Fortunately the judges had got notice of this intended assault from two rebel deserters, so that the whole royal army was drawn out in order of battle on the plain before the rebels got up to the attack. The negro detachment

3 Pucara is in the province of Lampa, near the north-western extremity of the great lake Titicaca.—E.

ment arrived at the royal camp some time before Giron, and, finding no resistance, they broke in and killed a great number of the Indian followers, and many horses and mules, together with five or six Spanish soldiers who had deserted the ranks and hidden themselves in the camp. On arriving at the camp, Giron fired a whole volley into the fortifications without receiving any return; but was astonished when the royal army began to play upon the flank of his army from an unexpected quarter, with all their musquets and artillery. Giron, being thus disappointed in his expectations of taking the enemy by surprise, and finding their whole army drawn up to receive him, lost heart and retreated back to his strong camp in the best order he could. But on this occasion, two hundred of his men, who had formerly served under Alvarado, and had been constrained to enter into his service after the battle of Chuquinca, threw down their arms and revolted to the royalists.

Giron made good his retreat, as the general of the royalists would not permit any pursuit during the darkness of the night. In this affair, five or six were killed on the side of the judges, and about thirty wounded; while the rebels, besides the two hundred who revolted, had ten men killed and about the same number wounded. On the third day after the battle, Giron sent several detachments to skirmish with the enemy, in hopes of provoking them to assail his strong camp; but the only consequence of this was giving an opportunity to Thomas Vasquez and ten or twelve more to go over to the royalists. Heart-broken and confounded by these untoward events, and even dreading that his own officers had conspired against his life, Giron fled away alone from the camp on horseback during the night after the desertion of Vasquez. On the appearance of day he found himself still near his own camp, whence he desperately adventured to make his escape over a mountain covered with snow, where he was nearly swallowed up, but at last got through by the goodness of his horse. Next morning, the lieutenant-general of the rebels, with about an hundred of the most guilty, went off in search of their late general; but several others of the leading rebels went over to the judges and claimed their pardons, which were granted under the great seal.

Next day, Paulo de Meneses, with a select detachment, went in pursuit of Diego de Alvarado, the rebel lieutenant-

 general,

general, who was accompanied by about an hundred Spaniards and twenty negroes; and came up with them in eight or nine days, when they all surrendered without resistance. The general immediately ordered Juan Henriquez de Orellana, one of the prisoners, who had been executioner in the service o the rebels, to hang and behead Diego de Alvarado and ten or twelve of the principal chiefs, after which he ordered Orellana to be strangled by two negroes.

"I cannot omit one story to shew the impudence of the rebel soldiers, which occurred at this time. The very next day after the flight of Francisco Hernandez Giron, as my father Garcilasso de la Vega was at dinner with eighteen or twenty soldiers, it being the custom in time of war for all men of estates to be hospitable in this manner according to their abilities; he observed among his guests a soldier who had been with Giron from the beginning of this rebellion. This man was by trade a blacksmith, yet crowded to the table with as much freedom and boldness as if he had been a loyal gentleman, and was as richly clothed as the most gallant soldier of either army. Seeing him sit down with much confidence, my father told him to eat his dinner and welcome, but to come no more to his table; as a person who would have cut off his head yesterday for a reward from the general of the rebels, was not fit company for himself or those gentlemen, his friends and wellwishers, and loyal subjects of his majesty. Abashed by this address, the poor blacksmith rose and departed without his dinner, leaving subject of discourse to the guests, who admired at his impudence."

After his flight, Hernandez Giron was rejoined by a considerable number of his dispersed soldiers, and took the road towards Lima, in hopes of gaining possession of that place in the absence of the judges. He was pursued by various detachments, one of which came up with him in a strong position on a mountain; where all his followers, though more numerous than their pursuers, surrendered at discretion, and the arch rebel was made prisoner and carried to Lima, where he was capitally punished, and his head affixed to the gallows beside those of Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisco de Carvajal. This rebellion subsisted from the 13th of November 1553, reckoning the day on which Giron was executed, thirteen months and some days; so that he received his well-merited punishment towards the end of December 1554.

SECTION

SECTION V.

History of Peru during the Viceroyalty of the Marquis del Cannete.

IMMEDIATELY after learning the death of Don Antonio de Mendoza, his imperial majesty, who was then in Germany, nominated the Conde de Palma to succeed to the viceroyalty of Peru: But both he and the Conde de Olivares declined to accept. At length Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cannete, was appointed to the office. Having received his instructions, he departed for Peru and arrived at Nombre de Dios, where he resided for some time for the purpose of suppressing a band of fugitive negroes, called *Cimarrones* who lived in the mountains, and robbed and pilagedthe merchants and others on the road between Nombre de Dios and Panama. Finding themselves hard pressed by a military force sent against them under the command of Pedro de Orsua, the negroes at length submitted to articles of accommodation, retaining their freedom, and engaging to catch and deliver up all negroes that should in future desert from their masters. They likewise agreed to live peaceably and quietly within a certain district, and were allowed to have free trade with the Spanish towns.

Having settled all things properly in the Tierra Firma, the viceroy set sail from Panama and landed at Payta on the northern confines of Peru, whence he went by land to Lima, where he was received in great pomp in the month of July 1557. Soon after the instalment of the new viceroy, he appointed officers and governors to the several cities and jurisdictions of the kingdom; among whom Baptisto Munnoz a lawyer from Spain was sent to supersede my father Garcilasso de la Vega in the government of Cuzco. In a short time after taking possession of his office, Munnoz apprehended Thomas Vasquez, Juan de Piedrahita and Alonzo Diaz, who had been ringleaders in the late rebellion, and who were privately strangled in prison, notwithstanding the pardons they had received in due form from the royal chancery. Their plantations and lordships over Indians were confiscated and bestowed on other persons. No other processes were issued against any of the other persons who had been engaged in the late rebellion. But Munnoz instituted a prosecution against his predecessor

predecessor in office, my father, on the four following charges. 1st, For sporting after the Spanish manner with darts on horseback, as unbecoming the gravity of his office. 2d, For going on visits without the rod of justice in his hand, by which he gave occasion to many to despise and contemn the character with which he was invested. 3d, For allowing cards and dice in his house during the Christmas holidays, and even playing himself, contrary to the dignity becoming the governor. 4th, For employing as his clerk one who was not a freeman of the city, nor qualified according to the forms of law. Some charges equally frivolous were made against Monjaraz, the deputy-governor, not worth mentioning; but these processes were not insisted in, and no fines or other punishment were inflicted.

Soon after the viceroy was settled in his government, he sent Altamirano, judge in the court of chancery at Lima, to supersede Martin de Robles in the government of the city of La Plata. De Robles was then so old and bowed down with infirmities, that he was unable to have his sword girt to his side, and had it carried after him by an Indian page; yet Altamirano, almost immediately after taking possession of his government, hanged Martin de Robles in the market-place, on some pretended charge of having used certain words respecting the viceroy that had a rebellious tendency. About the same time the viceroy apprehended and deported to Spain about thirty-seven of those who had most eminently distinguished their loyalty in suppressing the late rebellion, chiefly because they solicited rewards for their services and remuneration for the great expences they had been at during the war, and refused to marry certain women who had been brought from Spain by the viceroy as wives to the colonists, many of whom were known to be common strumpets.

The next object which occupied the attention of the viceroy was to endeavour to prevail upon Sayri Tupac, the nominal Inca or king of the Peruvians, to quit the mountains in which he had taken refuge, and to live among the Spaniards, under promise of a sufficient allowance to maintain his family and equipage. Sayri Tupac was the son and heir of Manco Capac, otherwise called Menco Saca, who had been killed by the Spaniards after delivering them out of the hands of their enemies. After a long negociation, the Inca Sayri Tupac came to Lima where he was honourably received and entertained by the viceroy, who settled an insignifican pension upon

upon him according to promise. After remaining a short time in Lima, the Inca was permitted by the viceroy to return to Cuzco, where he took up his residence in the house of his aunt Donna Beatrix Coya, which was directly behind my fathers dwelling, and where he was visited by all the men and women of the royal blood of the Incas who resided in Cuzco. The Inca was soon afterwards baptized along with his wife, Cusi Huarcay, the niece of the former Inca Huascar. This took place in the year 1558; and about three years afterwards he died, leaving a daughter who was afterwards married to a Spaniard named Martin Garcia de Loyola.

Having settled all things in the kingdom to his satisfaction, by the punishment of those who had been concerned in the rebellion under Giron, and the settlement of the Inca under the protection and superintendence of the Spanish government; the viceroy raised a permanent force of seventy lancers or cavalry, and two hundred musqueteers, to secure the peace of the kingdom, and to guard his own person and the courts of justice. The horsemen of this guard were allowed each a thousand, and the foot soldiers five hundred dollars yearly.

Much about the same time, Alonzo de Alvarado, Juan Julio de Hojeda, my lord and father Garcilasso de la Vega, and Lorenzo de Aldana died. These four gentlemen were all of the ancient conquerors of Peru who died by natural deaths, and were all greatly lamented by the people for their virtuous honourable and good characters. All the other conquerors either died in battle, or were cut off by other violent deaths, in the various civil wars and rebellions by which the kingdom was so long distracted.

On the arrival of those persons in Spain who had been sent out of Peru by the viceroy for demanding rewards for their services, they petitioned the king, Don Philip II. for redress; who was graciously pleased to give pensions to as many of them as chose to return to Peru, to be paid from the royal exchequer in that kingdom, that they might not need to address themselves to the viceroy. Such as chose to remain in Spain, he gratified with pensions upon the custom-house in Seville; the smallest being 480 ducats yearly, to some 600, to some 800, 1000, and 1200 ducats, according to their merits and services. About the same time likewise, his majesty was pleased to nominate Don Diego de Azevedo as viceroy of Peru, to supersede the Marquis of Cannete; but, while preparing

paring for his voyage, he died, to the great grief of all the colonists of the kingdom. The Marquis of Cannete was much astonished when those men whom he had banished from Peru for demanding rewards for their past services, came back with royal warrants for pensions on the exchequer of that kingdom, and still more so when he learnt that another person was appointed to succeed him in the office of viceroy. On this occasion he laid aside his former haughtiness and severity, and became gentle and lenient in his disposition and conduct for the rest of his days; so that, if he had begun as he ended his administration, he would have proved the best governor that ever commanded in the New World. On seeing this change of conduct, the heirs of those citizens who had been executed for having engaged in the rebellion of Giron, laid the pardons obtained by their fathers before the judges of the royal audience, and made reclamation of the estates which had been confiscated, and even succeeded in having their lands and Indians restored, together with all other confiscations which had been ordered at the first coming over of the viceroy.

At this time likewise, the viceroy gave a commission to Pedro de Orsua, to make a conquest of the country of the Amazons on the river Marannon, being the same country in which Orellana deserted Gonzalo Pizarro, as formerly related. Orsua went to Quito to raise soldiers, and to provide arms and provisions, in which he was greatly assisted by contributions from the citizens of Cuzco, Quito and other cities of Peru. Orsua set out accordingly on his expedition, with a well appointed force of five hundred men, a considerable proportion of which was cavalry. But he was slain by his own men, at the instigation of Don Fernando de Guzman and some others, who set up Don Fernando as their king, yet put him to death shortly afterwards. Lope de Aguira then assumed the command, but the whole plan of conquest fell to the ground, and Aguira and far the greater part of the men engaged in this expedition were slain.

SECTION

SECTION VI.

Incidents in the History of Peru, during the successive Governments of the Conde de Nieva, Lope Garcia de Castro, and Don Francisco de Toledo.

ON the death of Don Diego de Azevedo, Don Diego de Zuniga by Velasco, Conde de Nieva, was appointed to supersede the Marquis of Cannete as viceroy of Peru, and departing from Spain to assume his new office in January 1560, he arrived at Payta in Peru in the month of April following. He immediately dispatched a letter to the marquis informing him of his arrival in the kingdom as viceroy, and requiring the marquis to desist from any farther exercise of authority. On the arrival of the messenger at Lima, the marquis ordered him to be honourably entertained, and to receive a handsome gratification, to the value of 7000 dollars; but he forfeited all these advantages, by refusing to address the ex-viceroy by the title of excellency. This slight, which had been directed by the new viceroy, so pressed on the spirits of the marquis, already much reduced by the infirmities of age and the ravages of a mortal distemper, that he fell into a deep melancholy, and ended his days before the arrival of his successor at Lima.

The Conde de Nieva did not long enjoy the happiness he expected in his government, and he came by his death not many months afterwards by means of a strange accident, of which he was himself the cause; but as it was of a scandalous nature I do not chuse to relate the particulars. On receiving notice of his death, King Philip II. was pleased to appoint the lawyer Lope Garcia de Castro, who was then president of the royal council of the Indies, to succeed to the government of Peru, with the title only of president of the court of royal audience and governor-general of the kingdom. He governed the kingdom with much wisdom and moderation, and lived to return into Spain, where he was replaced in his former situation of president of the council of the Indies.

Don Francisco de Toledo, second son of the Conde de Oropeta, succeeded Lope Garcia de Castro in the government of Peru, with the title of viceroy. He had scarcely been two years established in the government, when he resolved to en-

tice

tice from the mountains of Villcapampa[1] where he resided, the Inca Tupac Amaru, the legitimate heir of the Peruvian empire, being the son of Manco Inca, and next brother to the late Don Diego Sayri Tupac, who left no son. The viceroy was induced to attempt this measure, on purpose to put a stop to the frequent robberies which were committed by the Indians dependent on the Inca, in the roads between Cuzco and Guamanga, and in hope of procuring information respecting the treasures which had belonged to former Incas and the great chain of gold belonging to Huayna Capac, formerly mentioned, all of which it was alleged was concealed by the Indians. Being unable to prevail upon the Inca to put himself in the power of the Spaniards, a force of two hundred and fifty men was detached into the Villcapampa, under the command of Martin Garcia Loyola, to whom the Inca surrendered himself, with his wife, two sons, and a daughter, who were all carried prisoners to Cuzco.

The unfortunate Inca was arraigned by the attorney-general, of having encouraged his servants and vassals to infest the roads and to rob the Spanish merchants, of having declared enmity against all who lived or inhabited among the Spaniards, and of having entered into a plot with the Curacas or Caciques, who were lords of districts and Indians by ancient grants of the former Incas, to rise in arms on a certain day and to kill all the Spaniards they could find. At the same time a general accusation was made against all the males of mixed race, born of Indian mothers to the Spanish conquerors, who were alleged to have secretly agreed with Tupac Amaru and other Incas to make an insurrection for extirpating the Spaniards and restoring the native Inca to the throne of Peru. In consequence of this accusation, all the sons of Spaniards by Indian women who were of age sufficient to carry arms were committed to prison, and many of them were put to the torture to extort confession of these alleged crimes, for which they had no proof or evidence whatsoever. Many of them were accordingly banished to various remote parts of the New World, as to Chili, the new kingdom of Granada, the West India islands, Panama, and Nicaragua, and others were sent into Spain.

All the males of the royal line of the Incas, who were in the

1 The river Quillabamba, otherwise called Urabamba and Vilcamayo is to the north of Cuzco, and to the north of that river one of the chains of the Andes is named the chain of Cuzco or of the rebel Indians. This is probably the mountainous region mentioned in the text.—E.

the capacity of being able to succeed to the throne, to the number of thirty-six persons, together with the two sons and the daughter of the Inca Tupac Amaru, were commanded to reside for the future in Lima, where in little more than two years they all died except three, who were permitted to return to their own houses for purer air: But even these three were beyond recovery, and died soon afterwards. One of these, Don Carlos Paulu, left a son who died in Spain in 1610, leaving one son a few months old who died next year; and in him ended the entire male line of the Incas of Peru.

Tupac Amaru was brought to trial, under pretence that he intended to rebel, and had engaged in a conspiracy with several Indians, and with the sons of Spaniards born of Indian mothers, intending to have dispossessed his majesty Philip II. of the kingdom of Peru. On this unfounded accusation, and on the most inconclusive evidence, he was condemned to lose his head. Upon notice of this sentence, the friars of Cuzco flocked to prison, and persuaded the unfortunate prince to receive baptism, on which he assumed the name of Don Philip. Though the Inca earnestly entreated to be sent to Spain, and urged the absurdity and impossibility that he could ever intend to rebel against the numerous Spanish colonists who now occupied the whole country of Peru, seeing that his father with 200,000 men was utterly unable to overcome only 200 Spaniards whom he besieged in the city of Cuzco; yet the viceroy thought fit to order the sentence to be carried into execution. The Inca was accordingly brought out of prison, mounted on a mule, having his hands tied and a halter about his neck, and being conducted to the ordinary place of execution in the city of Cuzco, his head was cut off by the public executioner.

After continuing sixteen years in the viceroyalty of Peru, Don Francisco de Toledo returned into Spain, with a fortune of above half a million of pesos. Falling under the displeasure of the king, he was ordered to confine himself to his own house, and all his fortune was laid under sequestration, which so affected his mind that he soon died of a broken heart. Martin Garcia Loyola, who made the Inca prisoner, was married to a coya, the daughter of the former Inca Sayri Tupac, by whom he acquired a considerable estate; and being afterwards made governor of Chili, was slain in that country by the natives.

END OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF PERU.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF CHILI.

INTRODUCTION.

NOT having the advantage of any original and contemporary author to lay before our readers on this occasion, it was at first our intention to have omitted any notice of Chili in the present division of this work: But under the existing and important circumstances of the Spanish American colonies, to which some allusion has been already made in the introduction to the preceding chapter, it has been deemed proper to deviate on this occasion from our general principle, and to endeavour to draw up a short satisfactory account of the Discovery and Conquest of Chili, and of the early History of that interesting region, the most distant of all the early European colonies in the New World, and which presents the singular and solitary phenomenon, of a native nation inhabiting a fertile and champaign country, successfully resisting the arts, discipline, and arms of Europeans, and remaining unconquered and independent to the present day, after the almost perpetual efforts of the Spaniards during a period of 277 years.

In the composition of this chapter, we have been chiefly guided by the geographical natural and civil history of Chili, by the Abbe Don Juan Ignatio Molina, a native of the country, and a member of the late celebrated order of the Jesuits. On the dissolution of that order, being expelled along with all his brethren from the Spanish dominions, he went to reside at Bologna in Italy, where in 1787 he published the first part of his work, containing the natural history of Chili, and the second part, or civil history, some years afterwards. This work was translated and published some years ago in the United States of North America; and was republished in London in the year 1809, with the addition of several notes and appendixes from various sources by the English editor. In the present abridged version of the second part of that work, or civil history of Chili, we have collated the whole with An Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Chili, by Alonzo de Ovalle, or *Ovaglia*, likewise a native and a Jesuit, printed at Rome

Rome in 1649, of which an English translation is inserted in Churchill's collection of voyages and travels, Vol. III. p. 1—146. In other divisions of this work, more minute accounts will be furnished, respecting the country of Chili and its inhabitants and productions, by means of several voyages to that distant and interesting country.

Section I.

Geographical View of the Kingdom of Chili.

The kingdom of Chili in South America, is situated on the coast of the Pacific Ocean or Great South Sea, between 24° and 45° of south latitude, and between 68° 40′ and 74° 20′ of west longitude from Greenwich; but as its direction is oblique from N. N. E. to S. S. W. between the Andes on the east and the Pacific Ocean on the west, the middle of its northern extremity is in 70°, and of its southern termination in about 73° of W. longitude. Its extreme length therefore is 1260 geographical, or 1450 statute miles; but its breadth varies considerably, as the Andes approach or recede from the sea. In the more northern parts, between the latitudes of 24° and 32° S. the average breadth is about two degrees, or nearly 140 English miles. Its greatest breadth in lat. 37° S. is about 220 miles; whence its grows again narrower, and the continental part of the country, opposite to the Archipelago of Chiloe, varies from about 50 to 100 miles. These measures are all assumed as between the main ridge of the Andes and the sea; but in many places these mountains extend from 60 to 100 miles farther towards the east, and, being inhabited by natives of the same race with the indigenous Chilese, or confederated with them, that transalpine region may be likewise considered as belonging to Chili.

Chili is bounded on the north by Peru, whence its lower or plain country, between the Andes and the Pacific, is divided by the extensive and arid desert of Atacama. On the east it is separated by the lofty chain of the southern Andes from the countries of Tucuman, Cujo, and Patagonia, on the waters which run towards the Southern Atlantic. Through these lofty and almost impracticable mountains, there are eight or nine roads which lead from Chili towards the east, into the vast plains which depend upon the viceroyalty of La Plata, all of which are exceedingly difficult and even dangerous. The

The most frequented of these roads is that which leads from the province of Aconcagua in Chili to Cujo, running along the deep ravines of the rivers Chillan and Mendoza, bordered on one side by deep precipices overhanging these rivers, and on the other by lofty and almost perpendicular mountains. Both of these rivers derive their origin from the Alpine vallies of the Andes, the former running westwards to the Pacific; while the latter takes a much longer course towards the Southern Atlantic. This road requires at least eight days journey to get across the mountain range, and is so narrow and incommodious, that travellers are obliged in many places to quit their mules and proceed on foot, and every year some loaded mules are precipitated from this road into the rivers below. In some places the road passes over agreeable plains among the mountains, and in these the travellers halt for rest and refreshment. In these vallies, when the Incas conquered the northern provinces of Chili, before the coming of the Spaniards, they caused some *tambos* or stone houses to be constructed for the accommodation of their officers. Some of these are ruined but others remain entire, and the Spaniards have built some more for the convenience of travellers.

On the west side Chili is bounded throughout its whole extent by the shores of the Pacific Ocean; and on the south it joins with the southern land usually called the Terra Magellanica, from the name of the navigator, Magellan or Magelhaens, who first circumnavigated the continent of South America, and opened the way by sea from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, through the Straits which are still known by his name.

Chili may be considered under three natural divisions. The country of Chili Proper, between the main ridge of the Andes and the sea: The Andes themselves, from the main ridge eastwards to the plain country of La Plata, and the Chilese islands. Chili Proper, or that which lies between the main ridge of the Andes and the Pacific, is usually distinguished into the Maritime and Midland countries. The Maritime country is intersected by three chains of hills, running parallel to the Andes, between which are many fine vallies which are watered by delightful rivers. The Midland country consists almost entirely of a uniform plain of considerable elevation, having a few isolated hills interspersed which add much to its beauty. The Andes, which are among the loftiest mountains in the world, are mostly about 120 miles from east to west, in

that part of their course which belongs to Chili, consisting of a vast number of mountains of prodigious height, as if chained together, and displaying all the beauties and horrors of the most sublime and picturesque grandeur, abounding everywhere with frightful precipices, interspersed with many fine vallies and fertile pastures, watered by numerous streams and rivers which rise in the mountains. Between the latitudes of 24° and 33° south, the Andes are entirely desert and uninhabited; but the remainder as far as 45° S. is inhabited by various tribes or colonies of the Chilese, called Chiquillanes, Pehuenches, Puelches, and Huilliches, which are commonly known under the general appellation of Patagonians.

§ 1. *Chili Proper.*

The political divisions of Chili consist of that part which has been conquered by the Spaniards, and that which still remains independent in the possession of the natives. The Spanish portion is situated between the latitudes of 24° and 37° south, and is divided into thirteen provinces; of which the following is an enumeration, with a short account of each, beginning on the north, at the desert of Atacama, or frontiers of Peru. In each of these a *corregidor*, or deputy-governor resides, to whose command the civil and military officers of the province are subordinate, and on whom the respective cabildos or municipal magistracies are dependent.

1. *Copaipo*, is bounded on the north by the great desert of Atacama, on the east by the Andes, on the south by Coquimbo, and on the west by the Pacific. It is about 300 English miles long by 120 in breath. It contains the rivers Salado, Juncal, Chineral, Copaipo, Castagno, Totoral, Quebradaponda, Guasco, and Chollai. This province abounds in gold, lapis lazuli, sulphur, and fossile salt, which last is found in almost all the mountains of the Andes on its eastern frontiers. Copaipo its capital is in lat. 27° 15′ S. and long. 70° 53′ W. The northern part of this province, beyond the river Juncal is hardly inhabited, except by hunters of the Vicugnas, which they catch by means of large palisaded inclosures. Besides lead mines to the north of the river Copaipo, there are several silver mines in this province, and some sugar is made in the valley of the Totoral. This province has five ports, at Juncal, Chineral, Caldera, Copaipo, and Huasca, or Guasco. The chief town, Copaipo,

situated

situated on the river of the same name, contains a parish church, a convent of the order of Mercy, and a college which formerly belonged to the Jesuits. The town of San Francisco della Salva, stands on the same river about sixty miles farther inland.

2. *Coquimbo,* which is divided from Copaipo by the river Huasca or Guasco, is the next province towards the south. It is accordingly bounded on the north by Copaipo, on the east by the Andes, on the south-east by Aconcagua, on the south-west by Quillota, and on the west by the Pacific. It is about 135 miles from north to south, and 120 from east to west. Its principal rivers are the Coquimbo, Tongoi, Limari, and Chuapa. Its capital is called Coquimbo, or *La Serena,* founded in 1544 by Valdivia at the mouth of the river Coquimbo in lat. 29° 53′ S. long. 71° 12′ W. This city is the residence of several ancient and honourable families, and is situated in a delightful country and charming climate; such being the mild temperature of the air, that though rain seldom falls, the surrounding country is continually verdant. This province is rich in gold, copper, and iron, and its fertile soil produces grapes, olives, and other fruits in great abundance, both those belonging to Europe, and such as are natural to the country.

3. *Quillota,* is bounded on the north by Coquimbo, on the east by the province of Aconcagua, on the south by Melipilla, and on the west by the sea. Its chief rivers are the Longotoma, Ligua, Aconcagua, and Limache; and its territory is among the most populous and most abundant in gold of any in Chili. The capital, called Quillota or San Martin, stands in a pleasant valley, in lat. 32° 42′ S. and long. 71° W. having three churches dedicated to the saints Dominic, Francis, and Augustine. The province likewise contains the cities of Plazza, Plazilla, Ingenio, Cassablanca, and Petorca; which last is very populous, owing to the resort of great numbers of miners who work in the celebrated gold mines in the neighbourhood. Valparaiso, or Valparadiso, the most celebrated and most commercial harbour in Chili is in this province, from whence all the trade is carried on with Peru and Spain. The harbour is very capacious, and so deep that large ships can lie close to the shore. Its convenience for trade, and the salubrity of its climate, have rendered this a place of considerable resort; so that besides the city, which is three miles from the port, there is a populous town along the shore of the harbour,

bour, called Almendral, in which those belonging to the shipping mostly reside. A deputy-governor or corregidor sent directly from Spain resides here, who has the command of the civil and military officers of the city, and is only amenable to the president of Chili.

4. *Aconcagua*, is inclosed between the provinces of Coquimbo, Quillota, Santiago, and the Andes, being entirely inland and communicating with the sea through the former province, the same rivers bolonging to both. The celebrated silver mines of Uspalata are in the Andes belonging to this province, which likewise are productive of excellent copper, and its lower grounds are fertile in grain and fruit. Aconcagua or San Filippe, the capital, is in lat. 32° 18′ S. and long. 69° 55′ W.

5. *Melipilla*, is bounded on the north by Quillota, on the east by Santiago, on the south by the river Maypo dividing it from Rancagua, and on the west by the Pacific. Its rivers are the Mapocho and Poangue, and its territory abounds in wine and grain. Melipilla, or San Joseph de Logrouno, on the river Maypo, in lat. 33° 36′ S. long. 70° 42′ W. is the chief town of the province, and is but thinly inhabited, though in a beautiful situation and fertile country, as most of the principal proprietors reside in the neighbouring city of St Jago, the capital of the kingdom.

6. *St Jago*, or *San Jacopo*, is entirely inland, having the province of Aconcagua on the north, the Andes on the east, the river Maypo to the south, and Melipilla to the west. This is a small province, being only 45 miles from east towest, and 36 from north to south. Besides the rivers Mapocho, Colina, and Zampa, with several other beautiful streams, it contains the lake of Pudaguel which is about nine miles long. This province is very fertile, producing abundance of grain and wine, with fine fruits, especially peaches of exquisite flavour and large size. The inferior mountains of Caren abound in gold, and in the Andes belonging to this province there are mines of silver. Tin is likewise said to be found in the province. The beautiful city of St Jago, the capital of the province and of the kingdom of Chili, which was founded in 1541 by Pedro de Valdivia, stands in an extensive and beautiful plain, on the left bank of the river Mapocho, in lat. 33° 16′ S. long. 69° 48′ W. having the suburbs of Chimba, Cannadilla, and Renca on the opposite side of the river. Both sides of the river are guarded by stone quay walls of considerable height

height to prevent inundations, and a fine bridge connects the city with its suburbs. St Jago is about 90 miles from the sea, and about 20 from the foot of the main ridge of the Andes, whose lofty summits clad in perpetual snow form a fine contract with the continual verdure of a beautiful surrounding district. The streets are all in straight lines, thirty-six feet broad, and intersecting each other at right angles, and every house is amply supplied with excellent water by means of several aqueducts. The great square is 450 feet in extent on all its sides, having a bronze fountain in the centre. The north side of this square is occupied by the palace of the president and the public offices, beneath which is the prison. On the south side is the palace of the Conde dell Sierra-bella. The west side is occupied by the cathedral and the palace of the archbishop; and the east side contains the palaces of three noblemen. The other most remarkable buildings are the church of San Domingo, and that formerly belonging to the college of Jesuits. Though convenient and handsomely built, the private houses are generally of one story only, on account of frequent earthquakes. On the south side of the city, from which it is separated by a street called the Cannada, 144 feet broad, is the large suburb of St Isidore. On a hill in the eastern part of the city, called Santa Lucia, there formerly stood a fortress to guard against attacks of the Indians. This city contained in 1770 a population of 46,000 inhabitants, which was rapidly increasing. Besides the cathedral and three other parish churches, there are two convents of Dominican friars, four of Franciscans, two of Augustins, two of the order of Mercy, and one belonging to the brothers of Charity, with an hospital, seven nunneries, a female penitentiary, a foundling hospital, a college for the nobility formerly under the direction of the Jesuits, and a Tridentine seminary. It contains also an university, a mint for coining gold and silver, and barracks for the soldiers who are maintained as guards to the president and royal audience.

7. *Rancagua*, is bounded on the north by the river Maypo and by the Chachapoal on the south, by the Andes on the east, and the Pacific on the west. Besides the former rivers, it is watered by the Codegua and Chocalan, and some others of less importance; and contains the lakes of Aculen and Buccalemu, of no great importance. This province is fertile in grain, and its chief town, Santa Croce di Trianna, otherwise called Rancagua, is in lat. 34° 18′ S. long. 70° 16′ W.

Near

Near Alque, a town recently founded about 24 miles nearer the sea, there is a very rich gold mine.

8. *Calchagua*, between the rivers Chachapoal and Teno, extends from the Andes to the sea, its breadth from north to south near the Andes being about 75 miles, while on the coast of the Pacific it does not exceed 40. Besides the rivers which form its boundaries, its territory is watered by the Rio-clarillo, Tinguiririca, and Chimbarongo; and in this province there are two considerable lakes, named Taguatagua and Caguil, the former being interspersed with beautiful islands, and the latter abounding with large clamps [1], which are much esteemed. This province, which is fertile in grain, wine, and fruits, and abounds in gold, is part of the territories of the native tribe of the Promaucians, whose name is said to signify *the people of delight*, so called from the beauty and fertility of their country. The chief town San Fernando, built only in 1742, is in lat. 34° 36′ S. long. 70° 34′ W.

9. *Maule*, the next province to the south, is bounded on the east by the Andes, on the south-east by Chillan, on the south-west by Itata, and on the west by the Pacific. It is about 176 miles from east to west, and about 120 from north to south where broadest; and is watered by the Lantue, Rio-claro, Pangue, Lircai, Huenchullami, Maule, Putagan, Achiguema, Longavi, Loncamilla, Purapel, and other inferior rivers. It abounds in grain, wine, fruits, gold, salt, cattle, and fish; which last are found in great quantities both in the sea and rivers. Its native inhabitants are brave, robust, and warlike, and are principally descended from the ancient Promaucians. Talca, or St Augustin, built in 1742 among hills near the Rio-claro, at a considerable distance from the sea, is in lat. 35° 18′ S. long. 70° 48′ W. Its population is considerable, owing to the proximity of rich gold mines, and the abundance and cheapness of provisions supplied by its territory. From this last circumstance, several noble families from the cities of St Jago and Conception, whose finances had become diminished, have retired to this place, which has in consequence been called the bankrupt colony. There are several other towns in this province, and many villages of the native Chilese; among these Laro, near the mouth of the river

1 Thus expressed by the translator of Molina, and probably some fresh water shell-fish.—E.

river Mataquito, contains a numerous population of the Promaucian nation, and is governed by an *Ulmen* or native chief.

10. *Itata*, situated on the sea-coast, has Maule on the north, Chillan on the east, Puchacay on the south, and the Pacific on the west. It measures 60 miles from east to west, and about 33 from north to south, and is intersected by the river Itata, from which it derives its name. The best wine of Chili is made in this province, and being produced on lands belonging to citizens of the city of Conception, is usually known by the name of Conception wine. Its chief town named Coulemu, or Nombre de Jesus, stands on the Rio Jesus, in lat. 35° 58′ S. long. 72° 38′ W. and was founded in 1743.

11. *Chillan*, bounded on the north by Maule, by the Andes on the east, on the south by Huilquilemu, and by Itata on the west, is entirely an inland province, about the same size with Itata. Its rivers are the Nuble, Cato, Chillan, Diguillin, and Dannicalquin. Its territory consists mostly of an elevated plain, particularly favourable for rearing sheep, which produce wool of a very fine quality. Its capital, Chillan or San Bartholomeo, in lat. 35° 54′ S. long. 71° 30′ W. was founded in 1580. It has been several times destroyed by the Araucanians, and was overthrown by an earthquake and inundation in 1751; since which it has been rebuilt in a more convenient situation, out of danger from the river.

12. *Puchacay*, is bounded on the north by Itata, on the east by Huilquilemu, on the south by the river Biobio, and on the west by the Pacific. It measures 24 miles from north to south, and 60 from east to west. This province affords a great quantity of gold, and its strawberries, both wild and cultivated, are the largest in all Chili. Gualqui, or San Juan, founded in 1754 on the northern shore of the Biobio, is the residence of the corregidor; but Conception, named Ponco in the native language, is the principal city of the province, and the second in the kingdom of Chili. It was founded by Pedro de Valdivia in a pleasant vale, formed by some beautiful hills, near the coast, in lat. 36° 42′ S. long. 73° 4′ W. After suffering severely in the long wars with the Araucanians, this city was destroyed in 1730 by an earthquake and inundation of the sea, and again by a similar calamity in 1751; and was rebuilt in 1764 in a beautiful situation a league from the sea. Owing to so many calamities, its inhabitants scarcely ex-

ceed 13,000, who are attracted to this place on the frontiers of the warlike Araucanians, by the great abundance of gold that is procured in its neighbourhood. The climate is always temperate, the soil is fertile, and the sea abounds in fish of all kinds. The Bay of Conception is spacious and safe, extending above ten miles from north to south, and nearly as much from east to west. Its mouth is protected by a beautiful and fertile island, called Quiriquina, forming two mouths or entrances to the bay; that on the north-east called the *bocca grande* being two miles wide, and that on the south-west, or *bocca chica*, little more than a mile. The whole bay affords safe anchorage, and a port at its south-east extremity called Talcaguano is chiefly frequented by shipping, as being not far from the new city of Conception.

13. *Huilquilemu*, commonly called Estanzia del Rei, or the royal possession, has Chillan on the north, the Andes on the east, the river Biobio on the south, and Puchacay on the west. This district is rich in gold, and produces an excellent wine resembling muscadel. To protect this province against the warlike and independent Araucanians, there are four forts on the north side of the Biobio, named Jumbel, Tucapel, Santa Barbara, and Puren; and as the boundary line is to the south of that river, the Spaniards have likewise the forts of Aranco, Colcura, San Pedro, Santa Joanna, Nascimento, and Angeles beyond that river.

14. *Valdivia.* This province, or military station rather, is entirely separated from the other possessions of the Spaniards in Chili, being entirely surrounded by the territories of the Araucanians. It lies on the sea-coast, on both sides of the river Valdivia or Callacallas, being reckoned 36 miles from east to west, and 18 miles from north to south. It abounds in valuable timber, and affords the purest gold of any that is found in Chili, and produced great quantities of that precious metal to Valdivia the original conqueror. But owing to many calamities in the wars with the Araucanians, it is now of little importance except as a military station. Valdivia, the capital, in lat. 39° 48′ S. long. 73° 24′ W. is situated at the bottom of a beautiful and safe bay, the entrance to which is protected by the island of Manzera. As this is a naval station of much importance for protecting the western coast of South America, it is strongly fortified, and is always commanded by a military officer of reputation sent directly from Spain, though under the direction of the president of Chili. He has always a considerable

siderable body of troops, which are officered by the five commanders of the five castles which protect the city, with a sergeant-major, commissary, inspector, and several captains.

From the foregoing short abstract of the geographical circumstances of Chili Proper, or that part of the kingdom which is possessed by the Spaniards, it appears to extend from the lat. 24° to 37° both south, or about 900 English miles in length, by about 180 miles in medium breadth, containing about 162,000 square miles of territory or nearly 104 millions of statute acres, mostly of fertile soil, in a temperate and salubrious climate, abounding in all the necessaries of life, and richly productive in gold and other metals. Hence this country is calculated to support a most extensive population, in all the comforts and enjoyments of civilized society, and if once settled under a regular government, will probably become at no great distance of time an exceedingly populous and commercial nation.

The islands belonging to Chili consist principally of the Archipelago of Chiloé, with that of the Chones, which is dependent upon the former. The largest of these islands, named likewise Chiloé, is about 120 miles in extent from north to south, and about 60 miles from east to west. Between it and the main-land is a vast gulf or bay, which extends from lat. 41° 32′ to 44° 50′ both S. and lies between the longitudes of 72° 44′ and 74° 20′ both W. This is called the gulf of Chiloe, Guaiteca, or Elancud; and besides the great island of Chiloé, contains eighty-two smaller islands, thinly inhabited by Indians and a few Spaniards. The land in Chiloé, as in all the smaller islands, is mountainous, and covered by almost impenetrable thickets. The rains are here excessive and almost continual, so that the inhabitants seldom have more than fifteen or twenty days of fair weather in autumn, and hardly do eight days pass at any other season without rain. The atmosphere is consequently extremely moist, yet salubrious, and the climate is exceedingly mild and temperate. Owing to the great humidity, grain and fruits are by no means productive, yet the inhabitants raise sufficient grain, mostly barley and beans, for their support, and grow abundance of excellent flax. The town of Castro, on the eastern shore, in lat. 42° 44′ S. is the capital of the island, and was founded in 1565, by Don Martino Ruiz de Gamboa, and is built entirely of wood, containing only about a hundred and fifty inhabitants, yet has a parish church, a church

formerly

formerly belonging to the Jesuits, and two convents. The port of Chaco, near the middle of the northern extremity of the island, in lat. 41° 53′ S. and about the same longitude with Castro, has good anchorage, and enjoys the whole trade with Peru and Chili, which is not subjected to the duties which are paid in other ports of Spanish America.

Besides the southern Archipelago of Chiloé, there are a few islands of no great importance on the coast of Chili, not worth notice. The two islands likewise of Juan Fernandez are considered as dependencies on Chili. The larger of these, called Isola de Tierra, is at present inhabited by a few Spaniards, who have a small fort at La Baya or Cumberland harbour. The smaller island, or Masafuera, otherwise called De Cabras or Conejos, is uninhabited.

§ 2. *The Province of Cujo.*

Although the province of *Cujo*, on the east side of the Andes, be not strictly within the limits of Chili, yet as dependent on the presidency of that kingdom, it is proper to take notice of it in this place. Cujo is bounded on the north by the province of Tucuman, on the east by the Pampas or desert plains of Buenos Ayres, on the south by Patagonia, and on the west by the southern chain of the Andes. Being comprehended between the latitudes of 29° and 35° south, it is about 400 miles in extent from north to south, but its limits towards the east are uncertain. In temperature and productions, this province differs materially from Chili. The winter, which is the dry season, is extremely cold; and the summer is excessively hot both day and night, with frequent storms of thunder and hail, more especially in its western parts near the Andes. These storms commonly rise and disperse in the course of half an hour; after which the sun dries up the moisture in a few minutes. Owing to this excessive exsiccation, the soil is extremely arid, and will neither bear trees nor plants of any kind; unless when irrigated by means of canals, when it produces almost every vegetable in astonishing abundance. By these artificial means of cultivation, the fruits and grains of Europe thrive with extraordinary perfection, and come a month earlier to maturity than in Chili; and the wines produced in Cujo are very rich and full-bodied.

This province is intersected by three rivers which have their sources in the Andes, the San Juan, the Mendoza, and the Tunujan. The two former are named from the cities which

which are built on their banks. After a course of from 75 to 90 miles, these rivers form the great lakes of Guanasache, which extend above 300 miles from north to south, and their waters are afterwards discharged by the river Tunujan into the south-eastern desert Pampas. These lakes abound with excellent fish of several kinds, and they produce a sufficient quantity of salt to supply the whole province of Cujo. The eastern part of this province, called La Punta, is watered by the rivers Contaro and Quinto, and several smaller streams, and is quite different in its climate and temperature from the western part near the Andes. The plains of La Punta are covered with beautiful trees of large size, and the natural herbage grows to such a height in many places as to conceal the horses and other cattle which roam at large in these extensive plains. Thunder storms are exceedingly violent and frequent, continuing often for many hours, accompanied by incessant and immoderate rain.

Among the vegetable productions of Cujo, one of the most remarkable is a species of palm, which never exceeds eighteen feet high, putting forth all its branches so near the ground as to conceal the trunk. The leaves are extraordinarily hard, and terminate in a point as sharp as a sword. The fruit resembles the cocoa-nut, yet only contains a few hard round seeds, with no edible kernel. The trunk of this tree is very large, and is covered by a coarse outer bark of a blackish colour which is easily detached. Below this, there are five or six successive layers of a fibrous bark resembling linen cloth. The first is of a yellowish colour, and of the consistence and appearance of sail-cloth. The others gradually decrease in thickness, and become whiter and finer; so that the innermost is white and fine like cambric, but of a looser texture. The fibres of this natural cloth are strong and flexible, but harsher to the feel than those made from flax. This province produces great abundance of the *opuntia*, a species of the *cactus*, which nourishes the cochineal insect; but the natives are in use to string these insects on a thread by means of a needle, by which they acquire a blackish tint. The fruit of this plant is woolly, about the size of a peach, its internal substance being glutinous and full of small seeds. It is sweet and well-flavoured, and is easily preserved by cutting into slices which are dried in the sun. There are four different trees producing a species of beans; two of which are good eating, the third is employed as provender for horses, and ink

is made from the fourth. The most singular vegetable production in this country is called *the flower of the air*, from having no root, and never growing on the ground. Its native situation is on the surface of an arid rock, or twining round the dry stem of a tree. This plant consists of a single shoot, like the stem of a gilly-flower, but its leaves are larger and thicker, and are as hard as wood. Each stalk produces two or three white transparent flowers, in size and shape resembling a lily, and equally odoriferous with that flower. They may be preserved fresh on their stalks for more than two months, and for several days when plucked off. This plant may be transported to almost any distance; and will produce flowers annually, if merely hung up on a nail.

In the northern parts of Cujo there are mines of gold and copper, but they are not worked owing to the indolence of the inhabitants. It has also rich mines of lead, sulphur, vitriol, salt, gypsum, and talc or asbestos. The mountains near the city of Juan are entirely composed of white marble, in stratified slabs of five or six feet long by six or seven inches thick, all regularly cut and polished by nature. From this the inhabitants prepare an excellent lime, which they use in building bridges over the streams and canals of irrigation. Between the city of Mendoza and La Punta, on a low range of hills, there is a large stone pillar, 150 feet high and 12 feet diameter, called the giant, on which there are certain marks or inscriptions resembling Chinese characters. Near the Diamond river there is another stone, having marks which appear to be characters, and the impression of human feet, with the figures of several animals. The Spaniards call it the stone of St Thomas; from a tradition handed down from the first settlers, said to have been received from the native Indians, that a white man with a long beard, formerly preached a new religion from that stone to their ancestors, and left the impression of his feet, and the figures of the animals that came to hear him, as a memorial of his sanctity.

The aboriginal natives of the province of Cujo are called Guarpes, of whom there are now very few remaining. They are of a lofty stature, very thin, and of a brown colour, and speak a quite different language from that of the Chilese. This people was anciently conquered by the Peruvians, after having taken possession of the northern part of Chili; and on the road across the Andes from Cujo to Chili, there still are some small stone buildings, or tambos, which had been

erected

erected for the accommodation of the Peruvian officers and messengers. The first Spaniards who attempted to reduce this country were sent by Valdivia, under the command of Francisco de Aguirre, who returned to Chili after the death of Valdivia. In 1560, Don Garcia de Mendoza sent a force under Pedro del Castillo, who subdued the Guarpes, and founded the cities of San Juan and Mendoza. The latter, which is the capital, is situated on a plain at the foot of the Andes, in lat 33° 54′ S. long. 68° 34′ W. This is supposed to contain about 6000 inhabitants, and is continually increasing in population, owing to its vicinity to the celebrated silver mine of Uspallatta, which is worked by the inhabitants to great profit. This city carries on a considerable commerce in wine and fruits with Buenos Ayres. The city of San Juan near the Andes, in lat. 31° 40′ S. and long. 68° 34′ W. is equally populous with Mendoza, from which it is about 160 miles due north, and trades with Buenos Ayres in brandy, fruits, and Vicunna skins. Its pomegranates are greatly esteemed in Chili, to which they are sent across the Andes. This city is governed by a deputy from the corregidor of Mendoza, assisted by a cabildo. In 1596, the small city of La Punta, or San Luis de Loyola, was founded in the eastern part of Cujo, in lat. 33° 47′ S. long. 65° 33′ W. Although the thoroughfare for all the trade from Chili and Cujo to Buenos Ayres, it is a miserable place with scarcely two hundred inhabitants; but its jurisdiction is extensive and populous, and is administered both in civil and military affairs by a deputy of the corregidor of Mendoza. Besides these three cities, the province of Cujo contains the towns of Jachal, Valfertil, Mogna, Corocorto, Leonsito, Calingarta, and Pismanta[2], which do not merit particular attention.

The Patagonians who border upon Cujo towards the south, and of whose gigantic stature so much has been said, do not differ materially in this respect from other men. The Pojas, one of their tribes, are governed by several petty independent princes. A singular species of polygamy prevails among this people, as the women are permitted to have several husbands. As to the Cesari, of whom such wonderful stories have been reported, and who are supposed to be neighbours of the Chilese,

2 Besides these, modern maps insert the following, beginning in the north. Betlen, Rioja la Nueva, Mutinan, San Juan de Jaeban, Guanaçhoca, all to the north of Mendoza.—E.

Chilese, they have no existence except in the fancies of those who take pleasure in marvellous stories.

§ 3. *The Indian Country, or Araucania.*

That part of Chili which remains unconquered reaches from the river Biobio in the north to the Archipelago of Chiloe in the south, or between the latitudes of 37° and 42′ S. This country is inhabited by three independent nations, the Araucanians, the Cunches, and the Huilliches. The territory of the Araucanians, contains the finest plains in Chili, and is situated between the rivers Biobio and Callacallas, stretching along the sea-coast for about 186 miles, and is generally allowed to be the most pleasant and fertile district in the kingdom of Chili. Its extent from the sea to the foot of the Andes, was formerly reckoned at 300 miles; but as the Puelches, a nation inhabiting the western side of the mountains, joined the confederacy of the Araucanians in the seventeenth century, its present breadth cannot be less than 420 miles, and the whole territory is estimated at 78,120 square miles or nearly 50 millions of acres.

The Araucanians derive their name from the province of Arauco, the smallest in their territory, but which has given name to the whole nation, as having been the first to propose the union which has so long subsisted among the tribes, or from having at some remote period reduced them under its dominion. Enthusiastically attached to their independence, they pride themselves on the name of *auca*, signifying *freemen*[3]; and by the Spaniards who were sent from the army in Flanders to serve in Chili, this country has been called Araucanian Flanders, or the invincible state. Though the Araucanians do not exceed the ordinary height of mankind, they are in general muscular, robust, well proportioned, and of a martial appearance. Their complexion is of a reddish brown, but clearer than the other natives of America, except the tribe named Boroanes, who are fair and ruddy. They have round faces, small eyes full of animated expression, a rather

3 According to Falkner the missionary, *auca* is a name of reproach given them by the Spaniards, signifying rebels or wild men; *aucani* is to rebel or make a riot, and *auca-cahual* signifies a wild horse.—This may be the case in the language of the subjected Peruvians and northern Chilese, while in that of the independent Araucanians it may signify *free;* just as republican is an honourable term in the United States, while it is a name of reproach under a monarchical government.—E.

rather flat nose, a handsome mouth, even white teeth, muscular and well shaped legs, and small flat feet. Like the Tartars, they have hardly any beard, and they carefully pluck out any little that appears, calling the Europeans *long-beards*, by way of reproach. The hair on their heads is thick, black, and coarse, is allowed to grow very long, and is worn in tresses wound around their heads. The women are delicately formed, and many of them are very handsome, especially the Boroanes. They are generally long lived, and are not subject to the infirmities of age till a late period of life, seldom even beginning to grow grey till sixty or seventy, or to be wrinkled till fourscore. They are intrepid, animated, ardent, patient of fatigue, enthusiastically attached to liberty, and ever ready to sacrifice their lives for their country, jealous of their honour, courteous, hospitable, faithful to their engagements, grateful for services, and generous and humane to their vanquished enemies. Yet these noble qualities are obscured by the vices which are inseparable from their half savage state, unrefined by literature or cultivation: Being presumptuous, entertaining a haughty contempt for other nations, and much addicted to drunkenness and debauchery.

Their dress is manufactured from the wool of the vicunna, and consists of a shirt, vest, short close breeches, and a cloak or poncho, having an opening in the middle to admit the head, which descends all round as low as the knees. This cloak, which leaves the arms at liberty, and can be thrown back at pleasure, is so convenient for riding, and so excellent a protection from wind and rain, that it is now commonly adopted by the Spanish inhabitants of Chili, Peru, and Paraguay. The shirt, vest, and breeches, are always of a greenish blue, or turquois colour, which is the uniform of the nation. Among persons of ordinary rank, the *poncho*, or native cloak, is also of the same national colour; but those of the higher classes have it of different colours, as white, red, or blue, with stripes a span broad, on which figures of flowers and animals are wrought in different colours with much ingenuity, and the borders are ornamented with handsome fringes. Some of these *ponchos* are of so fine a texture and richly ornamented as to sell for 100 or even 150 dollars. Their only head-dress is a fillet or bandage of embroidered wool, which they ornament in time of war with a number of beautiful feathers. Round the waist they wear a long sash or girdle of woollen,

woollen, handsomely wrought; and persons of rank have leather sandals, and woollen boots, but the common people are always bare-footed.

The dress of the women is entirely of wool, and the national greenish blue colour, consisting of a tunic or gown without sleeves reaching to the feet, fastened at the shoulder by silver buckles, and girt round the waist by a girdle; over which gown they wear a short cloak, which is fastened before by a silver buckle. They wear their hair in several long braided tresses, flowing negligently over their shoulders, and decorate their heads with false emeralds and a variety of trinkets. They wear square ear-rings of silver, and have necklaces and bracelets of glass-beads, and silver rings on all their fingers.

Like all the other tribes in Chili, before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Araucanians still continue to construct their houses or huts rather of a square form, of wood plaistered with clay, and covered with rushes, though some use a species of bricks; and as they are all polygamists, the size of their houses is proportioned to the number of women they are able to maintain. The interior of their houses is very simple, and the furniture calculated only to serve the most necessary purposes, without any view to luxury or splendour. They never form towns, but live in scattered villages along the banks of rivers, or in plains that can be easily irrigated.

The whole country of the Araucanian confederacy is divided into four principalities, called *Uthal-mapu* in their language, which run parallel to each other from north to south. These are respectively named *Lauquen-mapu*, or the maritime country; *Lelbun-mapu*, or the plain country; *Inapire-mapu*, or country at the foot of the Andes; and *Pire-mapu*, or the country on the Andes. Each principality or Uthal-mapu is divided into five provinces, called *Ailla-regue*; and each province into nine districts, termed *regue*. Hence the whole country contains 4 *Uthal-mapus*, 20 *Ailla-regues*, and 180 *Regues*. Besides these, the country of the *Cunches*, who are in alliance with the Araucanians, extends along the coast between Valdivia and the archipelago of Chiloe; and the *Huilliches*, likewise allies of the Araucanians, occupy all the plains to the eastward, between the Cunches and the main ridge of the Andes.

The civil government is a kind of aristocratic republic, under three orders of hereditary nobility, each subordinate to the

the other. Each of the four *Uthal-mapus* is governed by a *Toqui*. The *Ailla-regues*, are each under the command of an *Apo-ulmen*; and every one of the *Regues* is ruled by an *Ulmen*. The four *toquis* are independent of each other, but are confederated for the public welfare. The *Apo-ulmens* govern the provinces under the controul or superintendence of the respective *toquis*; and the *ulmens* of the *regues* are dependent on the Apo-ulmens, or arch-ulmens. This dependence is however almost entirely confined to military affairs. The distinguishing badge of the toqui is a kind of battle-axe, made of marble or porpyhry. The Apo-ulmens and Ulmens carry staves with silver heads; the former being distinguished by the addition of a silver ring round the middle of their staves. The toqui has only the shadow of sovereign authority, as every question of importance is decided by an assembly of the great body of nobles, which is called *Buta-coyog* or *Auca-coyog* the great council, or the Araucanian council. This assembly is usually held in some large plain, on the summons of the toquis; and on such occasions, like the ancient Germans as described by Tacitus, they unite the pleasures of revelling and even drunkenness with their deliberations. By their traditionary laws, called *Ad-mapu* or customs of the country, two or more principalities, provinces, or districts cannot be held by the same chief. Whenever the male line of the ruling family becomes extinct, the vassals have the right to elect their own chief; and all the districts are directed entirely in civil matters by their respective Ulmens. The people are subject to no contributions or personal services whatever, except in time of war; so that all the chiefs of every rank or degree have to subsist on the produce of their own possessions.

The military government is established upon a system of wonderful regularity. When the great council determines on going to war, they proceed immediately to elect a commander-in-chief, who is in some measure the dictator of the country during his continuance in office. The toquis have in course the first claim to this high dignity, as being the hereditary generals and stadtholders of the republic; yet, disregarding all respect for superior rank, the council often entrusts this supreme power to the most deserving of the Ulmens, or even to an officer of an inferior class, considering only on this occasion the talents that are deemed necessary for command. Thus in the war of 1722, the supreme com-

mand

mand was confided to Vilumilla, a man of low origin, and in that which terminated in 1773, to Curignanca, the younger son of an Ulmen in the province of Encol. On his elevation to office, the generalissimo of the republic assumes the title of *toqui*, and the stone hatchet in token of supreme command; on which the four hereditary toquis lay aside theirs, as it is not permitted them to carry this ensign of authority during the continuance of the dictator in office, to whom all the toquis apo-ulmens and ulmens take the oath of obedience. Even the people, who during peace are exceedingly repugnant to subordination, are now entirely submissive to the commands of the military dictator. Yet he has not the power of putting any one to death, without the consent of his principal officers; but as all these are of his appointment, his orders are next to absolute.

It has always happened since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chili, that the supreme toquis have been elected from among the natives of the provinces of Arauco, Tucapel, Encol, or Puren; but I know not whether this may be owing to some ancient law or agreement, or to some superstitious notion. The supreme toqui appoints his vice-toqui or lieutenant-general, and the other officers of his staff; who in their turn nominate the inferior officers. The vice-toqui is almost always elected from among the Puelches, to gratify the ambition of that valiant tribe, which forms about a fourth part of the population of the confederacy. At present the army of the Araucanians is composed both of cavalry and infantry. Originally it consisted entirely of foot; but in their first battles with the Spaniards, perceiving the vast advantage derived by their enemies from the employment of cavalry, they soon applied themsleves to procure a good breed of horses; insomuch that in 1568, only seventeen years after their first encountering the Spaniards, they had several squadrons of cavalry; and by the year 1585, the Araucanian cavalry was regularly organized by the toqui Cadeguala. The infantry is divided into regiments of a thousand men, and these into ten companies of an hundred men each. The cavalry is divided in a similar manner; but the numbers in the regiments and troops are not always the same. Each body of horse and foot has its particular standard; but all bear a star, which is the national device. The soldiers are not clothed in uniforms, but all have cuirasses of hardened leather below their ordinary dresses, with shields and helmets

of

of the same material. The cavalry are armed with swords and lances; and the infantry with pikes or clubs pointed with iron. In battle, the cavalry is distributed on the two wings of the army, while the infantry forms the centre or main body, divided into its several battalions or regiments, the ranks being composed alternately of pikemen and soldiers armed with clubs or maces. The right wing is confided to the vice-toqui, and the left to an experienced officer next in rank; while the toqui is present wherever occasion requires, and exhorts his soldiers to fight valiantly for the liberties of the nation. They formerly employed bows and slings in war; but taught by experience to avoid the destructive effects of musquetry in distant fight, they are now eager to close with their enemies. Impressed with the opinion that to die in battle for their country is the greatest honour that can be acquired, whenever the signal for battle is given, they advance with the utmost rapidity, despising the slaughter produced by the cannon and musquetry, yet preserving the strictest order and discipline, and often succeed in bearing down the firmest array of the Spaniards.

One of the first measures of the national council, when war is resolved upon, is to dispatch messengers to the confederate tribes, and even to the Indians who live under the Spanish government, to summon them to make common cause with their countrymen. The credentials of these messengers are some small arrows tied together by a red string, the symbol of blood. But if hostilities have been already commenced, the finger of a slain enemy accompanies the arrows. This embassy is called *pulchitum*, which signifies to run the arrow, and the messengers are called *guerquenis*. The toqui or military dictator directs what number of soldiers is to be furnished by each Uthal-mapu or principality. The particular toquis regulate the contingencies of the Apo-ulmens; and these last apportion these among the several Ulmens of their provinces. The army of the state usually consists of five or six thousand men; besides which, a body of reserve is always in readiness for particular occasions, or to replace those who may be killed in battle. Before taking the field, the general assigns three days for consultation with his principal officers, during which the plan of the campaign is maturely deliberated upon, and every one has liberty to offer his opinion: But the general finally settles the plan of warfare in secret consultation with his principal officers. After all is agreed upon, the

the army commences its march to the sound of drums, and is always preceded by several advanced parties, to guard against surprise. During the march, the infantry as well as the cavalry are on horseback; but on coming to action, the infantry dismounts and is regularly marshalled in companies and battalions. All the soldiers have to provide their own horses arms and provisions; and as all are liable to military service, no one has to contribute towards the supply of the army. Their provisions consist chiefly in a small sack of parched meal, which each soldier carries on his horse; and which, diluted with water, serves them as food till they can live at free quarters in the enemys country. Being thus unencumbered with baggage, they are able to move with astonishing celerity, either to attack or to retreat as may be necessary. They are extremely vigilant when in presence of the enemy, encamping always in secure and advantageous situations, strengthening their posts with entrenchments, and placing sentinels on all sides, every soldier being obliged during the night to keep a fire burning in front of his tent. When necessary they protect their posts and encampments with deep trenches, guarded by abatis or hedges of spinous or thorny trees, and strew calthrops at all the avenues to repress attacks from the cavalry of the enemy. In short there are few military stratagems with which they are unacquainted, and are wonderfully expert in tactics [4].

SECTION II.

Of the Origin, Manners, and Language of the Chilese.

THE origin of the primitive inhabitants of Chili, like that of all the nations and tribes of the aboriginal Americans, is involved in impenetrable obscurity. Many of the natives consider themselves as indigenous, while others derive their origin

4 From the singular excellence of the military institutions of the Araucanians, by which they have been enabled to preserve their liberties against the superior arms of the Spaniards, down even to the present day, we have been induced to extend these observations much beyond our usual limits on such occasions. Such as are inclined to inquire more minutely into the civil institutions of this wonderful people, will find them detailed in the work of the Abbé Molina, together with a minute account of the natural productions of Chili.—E.

origin from a foreign stock, supposing their ancestors to have come from the north or from the west; but as they were utterly unacquainted with the art of writing, they have no records or monuments from which to elucidate this inquiry, and their traditionary accounts are too crude and imperfect to afford any degree of rational information on the subject. The Chilese call their first progenitors *Pegni Epatum*, signifying the brothers named Epatum. They call them likewise *glyce*, or primitive men; and in their assemblies invoke their ancestors and deities in a loud voice, crying *Pom*, *pam*, *pum*, *mari*, *mari*, *Epunamen*, *Amimalguen*, *Pegni Epatum*. The meaning of these words is uncertain, unless we may suppose it to have some connexion with the word *pum*, used by the Chinese to signify the first created man, or the one who was saved from the deluge. The lamas or priests of Thibet are likewise said to repeat to their rosaries, the syllables *om*, *am*, *um*, or *hom*, *ham*, *hum*; which corresponds in some measure with the customary exclamation of the Chilese.

It appears probable that the whole of Chili had been originally peopled by one nation, as all the native tribes, however independent of each other, speak the same language, and have a similar appearance. The inhabitants of the plains are of good stature, but those who dwell in the valleys of the Andes, usually surpass the ordinary height of man. The features of both are regular, and none of them have ever attempted to improve nature by disfiguring their faces, to render themselves more beautiful or more formidable. Their complexion, like the other American natives, is reddish brown or copper-coloured, but of a clearer hue than the other Americans, and readily changes to white. A tribe which dwells in the district of Baroa, is of a clear white and red like Europeans, without any tinge of copper colour. As this tribe differs in no other respect from the rest of the Chilese, this difference in complexion may be owing to some peculiar influence of the climate which they inhabit, or to their greater civilization. Some persons have been disposed to attribute this difference in colour to an intermixture with a number of Spanish prisoners taken during the unfortunate war of the sixteenth century: But the Spanish prisoners were equally distributed among the other tribes, none of whom are white; and besides, the first Spaniards who came to Chili were all from the southern provinces of Spain, where ruddy complexions are extremely rare.

 From

From the harmony, richness, and regularity of the Chilese language, we are led to conclude that the natives must in former times have possessed a much greater degree of civilization than now, or that they are the remains of a great and illustrious nation, which has been ruined by some of these physical or moral revolutions which have occasioned such astonishing changes in the world. The Chilese language is so exceedingly copious, both in radical words, and in the use of compounds, that a complete dictionary of it would fill a large volume. Every verb, either derivatively or conjunctively, becomes the root of numerous other verbs and nouns, both adjectives and substantives, which in their turn produce others of a secondary nature which may be modified in a hundred different manners. From every word in the language, a verb may be formed by adding a final *n*. Even from the most simple particles, verbs may be thus formed, by which at the same time great precision and great strength are given to conversation. Yet the language contains no irregular verb or noun, every thing being regulated by the most wonderful precision and simplicity, so that the theory of the language is remarkably easy, and may be learnt in a very short time. It abounds also in harmonious and sonorous syllables, which give it much sweetness and variety; yet is injured by the frequent recurrence of the sound of *u*. The Chilese language differs essentially from every other American language, both in words and construction, with the exception of eighteen or twenty words of Peruvian origin, which is not to be wondered at, considering the contiguity of the two countries. The most singular circumstance in this language is, that it contains a considerable number of words apparently of Greek and Latin derivation, and having similar significations in both languages; yet I am inclined to believe that this circumstance is merely accidental [1].

The original language of Chili, generally called the Araucanian, is denominated by the natives *Chili-dugu*, or the Chili speech or language. The alphabet is the same as the Latin, except the want of *x*, which indeed is only a compound letter. The

1 Perhaps these words may have been adopted into the Chilese language from the Spaniards, who speak a kind of dialect of Latin. The remainder of this section is an abridgement of an Essay on the Chilese language, appended to the second volume of Molina.—E.

The *s* likewise only occurs in about twenty of their words, and never at the termination; and the *z* is still more rare. Besides the ordinary letters, the Chilese has the mute *e*, and a peculiar *u* like the Greek and French; the former being designated by the *acute*, and the latter by the *grave* accent, to distinguish them from the ordinary *e* and *u*. This latter *u* is often changed to *i*. It has likewise a nasal *g* and a *th*; which latter is often changed to *ch*, as *chegua* for *thegua*, a dog. There are no gutturals or aspirates. All the words end either in one of the six vowels, or in *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, or *v*; so that there are fifteen distinct terminations. The accent is usually on the penult vowel, sometimes on the last, but never on the antipenult. The radical words, mostly monosyllables or dissyllables, are estimated at 1973. As far as we have been able to discover, these radicals have no analogy with any other known idiom, though the language contains a number of Greek and Latin words very little varied, as in the following table. It is proper to mention, that the orthography of the Chilese words is given according to the Italian pronunciation.

Chilese.	Greek.	Signification.
Aldun	Aldein	to increase.
Ale	Ele	splendour.
Amun	Mouon	to go.
Cai	Kai	and.
Ga	Ga	in truth.
Lampaicon	Lampein	to shine.
Mulan	Mullen	to pulverise.
Pele	Pelos	mud.
Reuma	Reuma	a stream.
Tupan	Tupein	to whip.

Chilese.	Latin.	
Aren	Ardere	to burn.
Cupa	Cupere	to desire.
Dapein	Dapinare	to feast.
Ejun	Ejulare	to weep.
Lev	Levis	active, swift.
Lumulmen	Lumen	light.
Lui	Lux	brightness.
Man	Manus	the right.
Putun	Potare	to drink.
Valin	Valere	to be worth.
Valen	Valere	to be able.
Une	Unus	one.

The

The nouns have only one declension, or rather are indeclinable, the numbers and cases being marked by various particles; but each, in this way, has the singular, dual, and plural, like the Greek. Thus *Cara* the city, has *Cara-egu* the two cities, and *Pu-cara* the cities, as in the following example.

	Singular.	*Dual.*	*Plural.*
Nom.	Cara	Cara-egu	pu-Cara
Gen.	Cara-ni	Cara-egu-ni	pu-Cara-ni
Dat.	Cara-meu	Cara-egu-meu	pu-Cara-meu
Accus.	Cara	Cara-egu	pu-Cara
Voc.	a Cara	a Cara-egu	a pu-Cara
Abl.	Caramo	Cara-egu-mo	pu-Cara-mo

Instead of *pu*, the mark of the plural, *ica* or *egen* may be affixed to the noun, or *que* placed between the adjective and substantive. Thus the plural of *cara* may be *pu-cara*, *caraica*, or *caraegen*, signifying the cities; or *çum-que cara*, the good cities.

The Chilese language abounds with adjectives, both primative and derivative. The latter are formed from every part of speech by invariable rules: As, from *tue* the earth, comes *tuetu* terrestrial; from *quimen* to know, *quimchi* wise; and these, by the interposition of *no*, become negative, as *tuenotu* not terrestrial, *quimnochi* ignorant. The adjectives, participles, and derivative pronouns are unsusceptible of number or gender, in which they resemble the English; yet when it is necessary to distinguish the sexes, *alca* is used for the masculine, and *domo* for the feminine. The comparative is formed by prefixing *jod* or *doi* to the positive, and the superlative by *cad* or *mu*. Thus from *chu* limpid, are formed *doichu* more limpid, and *muliu* most limpid. There are no diminutives or augmentatives, which are supplied by means of the adjectives *pichi* little, and *buta* great. Diminutives are also formed by changing a harsh sound into one more liquid; as *votun* son, to *vochiun* little son. The primitive pronouns are *inche* I, *eimi* you, *teye* which, &c. The relatives are *iney* who, *chem* what, *ta* or *ga* that, &c. The verbs all terminate in the syllables *an*, *en*, *in*, *on*, *un*, *ùn*; and are all regulated by a single conjugation, having all the voices, moods, and tenses of the Latin, with three or four others, and the singular dual and plural like the Greek. The terminations of the present tense of each mood form the roots of all the other tenses of the same mood,

mood, which are distinguished by certain particles, as *che* in the second present, *bu* in the imperfect, *uje* in the perfect, &c. as in the following example, which are placed between the radical and the final *n*. Passive verbs are formed by the auxiliary *gen*, between the radical and final *n*. Impersonal verbs by the particle *am* added to the radical. The following example of the verb *elun* to give, will serve as a model for all the other verbs in the language without exception, as there is but one conjugation and no irregular verbs. It is to be noticed, that the first present of all the verbs is used, as our compound preterite: Thus *elun* signifies I give or I have given; while the second present is strictly confined to the present time.

Active Voice.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1.	*Elun*, I give.	*Eluvu*, We two give.	*Eluign*, We give
2.	*Eluimi*, Thou givest.	*Eluimu*, You two give.	*Eluimen*, Ye give
3.	*Elui*, He gives.	*Eluigu*, They two give.	*Eluigen*, They give

Second Present,	1. *Eluchen*, I give.	2. *Eluchemi*, Thou givest, &c.
Imperfect,	1. *Elubun*, I did give.	2. *Elubuimi*, Thou, &c.
Perfect,	1. *Eluuyen*, I gave.	2. *Eluuyeimi*, Thou, &c.
Pluperfect,	1. *Elunyebun*, I had given, &c.	
1st Future,	1. *Eluan*, I will give, &c.	
2d Future,	1. *Eluayean*, I shall have given, &c.	
1st Mixed,	1. *Eluabun*, I had to give, &c.	
2d Mixed,	1. *Eluugabun*, I ought to have had to give; &c.	

Imperative Mood.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1	*Eluche*, let me give	*Eluyu*, let us two give	*Eluign*, let us give
2	*Eluge*, give thou	*Elamu*, let you two give	*Elumen*, give ye
3	*Elupe*, let him give	*Elugu*, let these two give	*Elugen*, let them give

Subjunctive Mood.

Present tense,	*Eluli*, if I may give
Imperfect,	*Elubili*, if I might give
Perfect,	*Eluuyeli*, if I may have given
Pluperfect,	*Eluuyebuli*, if I might have given
1st. Future,	*Eluali*, if I shall give
2d. Future,	*Eluuyela*, if I shall have given
1st. Mixed,	*Eluabuli*, if I had to give
2d. Mixed,	*Eluyeabuli*, if I should have to give

The *optative* is formed of the subjunctive, or of the two mixed tenses of the indicative, by adding the desiderative par-

 ticles

ticles *velem*, *uel*, or *chi*; as *eluli velem!* Would to God that I might give; *eluabun chi!* Would to God that I had to give; &c. The affirmative *infinitive* is the same with the radical of the verb; or 1st person singular of the indicative tense; so that there are nine peculiar infinitives, which are distinguished from these tenses by some determinative particle.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLES.

1st Present, *Elulu*, he who gives	1st Mixed, *Eluabulu*, he who shall have to give
2d Present, *Eluquelu*, he who gives	2d Mixed, *Eluuyeabulu*, he who should have given
Imperfect, *Elubulei*, he who did give	
Perfect, *Eluuyelu*, he who gave	
Pluperfect, *Eluuyebula*, he who had given	
1st Future, *Elualu*, he who shall give	
2d Future, *Eluuyealu*, he who shall have given	

GERUNDS.

1st Present, *Eluyum*, giving
2d Present, *Elualu*, for to give
Imperfect, *Eluyubum*, when giving

PASSIVE VOICE.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.	*Imperfect.*
Elugen, I am given	*Elugebum*, I was given

Participles Passive.

1st Present, *Elugelu*, given	Imperfect, *Elugebulu*, that was given
2d Present, *Eluel*, given	Perfect, *Elubuel*, that was given

IMPERSONAL VERB.

Indicative Mood.

1st Present, *Eluan*, that is giving	1st Future, *Eluayam*, that shall be given
2d Present, *Eluchean*, that is giving	2d Future, *Eluuyeayam*, that should be given
Imperfect, *Elubuam*, that was giving	1st Mixed, *Eluabuam*, that had to give
Perfect, *Eluuyeam*, that was given	2d Mixed, *Eluuyeabuam*, that should have to give
Pluperfect, *Eluuyebuam*, that had given	

Imperative. *Elupeam*, let us give, &c.

Instead of the impersonal verb, the third person singular of the passive may be used impersonally, as in Latin. The verb may be made negative through its whole conjugation, by means of inserting the particle *la* in the indicative, *qui* in the imperative which then takes the termination of the subjunctive mood, and by means of *no* in the subjunctive and infinitive moods, as in the following examples.

Indicative

Indicative,	*Elulan,* I do not give	*Elulaimi,* thou doest not give	
Imperative,	*Eluquili,* let me not give, &c.		
Subjunctive,	*Elunoli,* if I do not give, &c.		
Infinitive,	*Elunou,* not to give, &c.		

Numerals of the Chilese Language.

Cardinals.

1. *Quigne*	11. *Mari-guigne*	21. *Epumari quigne*
2. *Epu*	12. *Mari-epu,* &c.	102. *Pataca epu*
3. *Cula*	20. *Epumari*	2003. *Epuhuaranca cula,* &c.
4. *Meli*	30. *Culamari*	
5. *Quechu*	40. *Melimari,* &c.	
6. *Cayu*	100. *Pataca*	
7. *Relghe*	200. *Epupataca,* &c.	
8. *Para*	1000. *Huaranca*	
9. *Aylla*	2000. *Epuhuaranca*	
10. *Masi*		

Ordinals.

Unen, Unelelu, Quignelelu, Quignegetu, Quignegentu, Quigmentu, once
Epulelu, epugelu, epugentun, epuntu, twice, &c. 4

Numeral Adverbs.

Quignechi, quignemel, quignemita, once
Epuchi, epumal, epumeta, twice, &c.

Distributives.

Calique, mallquigne, one by one
Epuque, mollepu, two by two, &c.

Numeral Verbs.

Quignen, to be one. *Quignelian,* to join. *Epun,* to be two ; &c.

Abstracts.

Quignegen, unity. *Epugen,* duality. *Culagen* trinity, &c.

Indefinites.

Quignelque, several. *Epulgen,* about two. *Culalque,* about three.

It has not been deemed necessary to repeat a great number of minute observations given by Molina on this singular language, nor to report the shades of difference in its dialects. But it has been thought proper to give a short list of words from the Moluches, a tribe inhabiting Patagonia, but speaking

4 The translator seems here to have misunderstood the author, as these ordinal numbers ought surely to signify *first* and *second.*—E.

ing a nearly related dialect of the Chilese language with that of the Araucanians.

Vocabulary.

P'llu, the soul or a spirit
Lonco, the head or the hair
Az, the face
N'ge, the eyes
Wun, or *huun*, the mouth
Gehuun, the tongue
Yu, the nose
Nahue, a daughter
Peni, a brother
Penihuen, own brothers
Huinca, a Spaniard
Seche, an Indian
Huenuy, a friend
Cainie, an enemy
Huincha, a head fillet
Makun, a mantle
Lancattu, glass beads
Cosque, bread
Ipe, food
In, or *ipen* to eat
Ilo, flesh
Ilon, to eat flesh
Putun, to drink
Putumum, a cup
Chilca, writing
Chilcan, to write
Sengu, a word, language, or a thing
Huayqui, a lance
Huay-quitun, to lance
Chinu, a knife or sword
Chinogoscun, to wound
Chinogosquen, to be wounded
Conan, a soldier
Conangean, one who is to be a soldier
Amon, to walk
Anun, to sit
Anupeum, a stool or seat
Anunmahuun, to feel inwardly
Poyquelhuun, to feel or perceive
Saman, a trade an artificer
Mamel, a tree
Mamel-Saman, a carpenter
Suca, a house
Sucu-Saman, a house builder
Autuigh, the sun, a day
Voso, the teeth or bones
Anca, the body
Pue, the belly
Cuugh, the hand
Namon, the foot
Pinque, the heart
P'nen, a child
Con'n, to enter
Tipan, to go out
Cupaln, to bring
Entun, to take away
Aseln, to be adverse
Aselgen, to hate
M'len, to be, to possess
Mongen, life to live
Mongetun, to revive
Swam, the will
Swamtun, to will
Pepi, power
Pepilan, to be able
Quimn, knowledge, to know
Quimeln, to learn
Quimelcan, to teach
Pangi, a lion
Choique, an ostrich
Achahual, a cock or hen
Malu, a large lizard
Cusa, a stone an egg
Saiguen, a flower
Milya, gold
Lien, silver
Cullyin, money payment
Cullingen, to be rich.
Cunnubal, poor, miserable, an orphan
Cum panilhue, red metal, copper
Chos panilhue, yellow metal, brass
Gepun, colour, painting
Cuyem, *Kiyem* a mouth, the moon
Tissantu, a year
K'tal, fire
Asee, hot
Chosee, cold
Atutuy, it is shivering cold.

The

The beginning of the Lords Prayer.

Inchin in Chao, huenumenta m' leymi, ufchingepe mi wi;
Our Father, in heaven thou that art, hallowed be thy name;
eymi mi toquin inchinmo cupape; eymi mi piel, chumgechi
thy kingdom to us may it come; thy will, as it is
vemgey huenu-mapumo, vemgechi cay vemengepe
done in heaven, so likewise may it be done
tue-mapumo, &c.
on earth, &c.

SECTION III.

State of Chili, and Conquests made in that Country by the Peruvians, before the arrival of the Spaniards.

THE History of Chili and its inhabitants does not precede the middle of the fifteenth century, and what little is known respecting it is contained in the traditionary accounts of the Peruvians, who first invaded the northern province of Chili about the middle of that century, not an hundred years before the overthrow of the Peruvian empire by Pizarro, and the first Spanish invasion of Chili under Almagro.

About the year 1450, while the Inca Yupanqui reigned over the Peruvian empire, which had then extended its limits from Cuzco northwards to the equator and southwards to the tropic of Capricorn, the ambition of the Peruvian government was attracted to the acquisition of the important country of Chili, a rich and delightful region of great extent, immediately adjacent to the southern extremity of Peru. Favoured by the fertility of the country and the salubrity of the climate, the population of Chili may be readily supposed to have then been considerable, as we know that the whole extent of its territory was occupied by fifteen independent tribes or communities, each of which was governed by its respective chiefs, or *Ulmens*. These tribes, beginning at the north on the confines of the desert of Atacama, were called Copaipins, Coquimbans, Quillotans, Mapochians, Promaucians, Curés, Cauques, Pencones, Araucanians, Cunches, Chilotes, Chiquilanians, Pehuenches, Puelches, and Huilliches; which last tribe inhabited the south of Chili, adjoining the archipelago of Chiloé.

Informed of the natural advantages possessed by the inhabitants of this delightful region, the Inca Yupanqui resolved to

to attempt the annexation of Chili to his extensive empire. He accordingly marched with a powerful army to the frontiers of the country: But, either from apprehensions of his personal safety, or to be in a favourable situation for reinforcing the invading army and directing its operations, he established himself with a splendid court in the province of Atacama, the most southerly district of Peru, and confided the command of the invading army to Sinchiruca, a prince of the blood royal of Peru. Preceded, according to the specious custom of the Peruvians, by several ambassadors, and attended by a considerable military force, this general reduced under the Peruvian government, more by persuasion than force, the four most northerly tribes of the Chilese, named Copaipins, Coquimbans, Quillotans, and Mapochians. After this, not being able by his ambassadors to persuade the Promaucians into submission, who inhabit the delightful country between the river Rapel on the north and Maule on the south, he passed the river Rapel with his army to reduce them by force of arms. The name of the Promaucians, which signifies *free-dancers* [3], had been given them on account of their fondness for every kind of amusement, and their peculiar attachment to dancing; yet the love of pleasure had not redered them effeminate. With the assistance of their allies, they drew together a formidable army and fought the Peruvians with such heroic valour as to defeat them in a battle, which, according to Garcilasso, was continued during three successive days.

On learning the defeat of his army and the invincible valour of the Promaucians, the Inca gave orders that the river Rapel should remain the southern boundary of his dominions, and all attempts to reduce the rest of Chili were laid aside. According to Garcilasso, the river Maule was established as the frontier of the Peruvian conquests: But this is by no means probable; as in this case the country of the conquerors would have been included within the territories of the vanquished. In fact, not far from the river Cachapoal, which with the Tinguiririca forms the Rapel, the remains of a Peruvian fortress are still to be seen on the top of a steep hill, which was undoubtedly built to protect that part of the frontier

3 On a former occasion their name is explained as signifying *the people of delight*, owing to the beauty, fertility, and charming climate of their country.—E.

frontier against the unconquered Promaucians. By this conquest of its four northern provinces, Chili became divided into two distinct portions; all to the south of the Rapel remaining free, while the districts to the north of that river were subjected to the dominion of the Incas. These four tribes, who had so readily submitted to the Inca Yupanqui, were subjected to an annual tribute in gold; but the conquerors never introduced their peculiar form of government into these provinces, the inhabitants of which remained subject to their own native *ulmens*, and preserved their original manners until the arrival of the Spaniards.

When first known to the Spaniards, the Chilese were an agricultural people, dependent for their subsistence on the cultivation of such nutritious plants as accident or necessity had made them acquainted with. The plants chiefly cultivated by them for subsistence were maize, *magu*, *guegen*, *tuca*, *quinoa*, *pulse* of various kinds, the potatoe, *oxalis tuberosa*, common and yellow pumpkin or gourd, guinea pepper, *madi*, and the great strawberry; of each of which it may be proper to give a short account [4].

Maize or Turkey wheat, the *Zea mais* of botanists, is called *gua* by the Chilese. It grows extremely well in Chili, where the inhabitants cultivate eight or nine distinct varieties. The kind in highest repute is called *uminta*, from which the natives prepare a dish by bruising the corn, while in a green unripe state, between two stones into a kind of paste, which they season with salt, sugar, and butter. This paste is then divided into small portions, which are separately inclosed in the skin or husk of the corn, and boiled for use. When ripe, the maize is prepared for winter use, either by slightly roasting, or by drying in the sun. From the former, named *chuchoca*, a kind of soup is prepared by boiling with water: From the latter they make a very pleasant beer or fermented liquor. The maize is sometimes reduced to meal by grinding between two stones, being previously parched or roasted by means of heated sand. For this purpose they prefer a variety of maize named *curagua*, which is smaller than the other, and produces a lighter and whiter meal, and in larger quantity. With this

4 The following account of the plants cultivated by the Chilese for food, is extracted from the natural history of Chili by Molina; but the enumeration from the text of his civil history will be found to differ materially from that given from the natural history of the same author.—E.

this meal, mixed with sugar and water, they make two different beverages, named *ulpo* and *chrrchan.*

Magu a species of rye, and *tuca*, a species of barley, were cultivated by the Chilese before the coming of the Spaniards to that country; but have been entirely neglected since the introduction of European wheat. They are still used however by the Araucanians, who make from them a kind of bread called *covque*, which name they likewise give to bread made from maize or wheat.

Quinua is a species of *Chenopodium*, having a black twisted grain of a lenticular form, from which they prepare a stomachic beverage of a pleasant taste. A variety of this plant, named *dahue*, produces white seeds, which lengthen out when boiled like worms, and are excellent in soup. The leaves of the *quinoa* have an agreeable taste, and are eaten by the natives.

Degul is a species of bean, of which the Chilese cultivated thirteen or fourteen kinds before the arrival of the Spaniards, differing but little from the common European bean or *Phaseolus vulgaris*, one of them having a straight stalk, and all the rest climbers [5].

Chili is considered by naturalists as the native country of that valuable esculent the potato, or *Solanum tuberosum*, which is known there by the names of *papa* and *pogny*. It is found indeed wild all over the country; but those wild plants, named *maglia*, produce only small roots of a bitterish taste. It is distinguished into two species, and more than thirty varieties are cultivated with much care. Besides the common species, the second is the *cari*, *Solanum cari*, which bears white flowers having a large central nectary like the narcissus. The roots of this species are cylindrical and very sweet, and are usually roasted under the ashes.

The *Oca*, or *Oxalis tuberosa*, produces five or six tuberosities on each root, three or four inches in length covered by a thin smooth skin. It is eaten boiled or roasted, and has a pleasant subacid taste. Like the potato, it is multiplied by means of its bulbs cut in pieces. There are several species of this plant; one of which called *red culle*, is much used in dyeing, and is considered as a specific remedy for inflammatory fevers.

Two species of gourds are known in Chili. The first species,

5 These beans are obviously what are called kidney-beans in this country.—E.

cies, with a white flower, called *quada*, has twenty-six varieties, several of which produce sweet and edible fruit, while that of the others is bitter. With one of these last, after extracting the seeds, the Chilese give a pleasant perfume or flavour to their cyder. The yellow-flowering gourd, called *penca*, has two kinds or varieties, the common and mamillary, owing to the fruit of the latter having a large nipple-shaped process at the end. Its pulp is sweet, and resembles in taste a kind of potato named *camote*.

The *quelghen*, or Chili strawberry has rough and succulent leaves, and its fruit is sometimes as large as a hens egg. This fruit is generally red and white; but in the provinces of Puchacay and Huilquilemeu, where they attain the greatest perfection, the fruit is yellow. "The Chili strawberry is *dioecial*, and has degenerated much in Europe by the want of male plants, and the females producing hybrid fruit by impregnation from the ordinary strawberries growing in the neighbourhood; in consequence of which circumstance the cultivation of this kind has been abandoned in Europe."

The *madi*, a new genus of plants peculiar to Chili, has two species, one wild and the other cultivated. From the seeds of the latter an excellent oil is procured, either by expression, or by boiling in water, of an agreeable mild taste, and as clear as the best olive oil. This plant, hitherto unknown in Europe, would be a most valuable acquisition to those countries in which the olive cannot be raised.

Many species of the capsicum, or guinea pepper, are cultivated in Chili, under the name of *thapi*, and are used as seasonings in the food of the natives.

The *illmu*, or Bermudiana bulbosa, produces bulbous roots, which are excellent food either boiled or roasted, and are very pleasant in soups. The *liuto* produces a bulbous root, which yields a very white, light, and nutritious flour, which is much used as food for the sick.

To these enumerated provisions from the vegetable kingdom, may be added the *cuy* or little rabbit, *Lepus minimus*, and the Chilihueque, or Araucanian camel; the flesh of which last affords an excellent food, and its wool furnishes clothing for the natives. If tradition may be credited, they had also the hog and the domestic fowl before the Spanish invasion. Besides these, the country produced the *guanaco*, and the *pudu*, a species of wild goat, and a great variety of birds. With these productions, which required only a moderate

derate degree of industry, they subsisted with a sufficient abundance considering their situation and numbers; insomuch that, when Almagro invaded Chili, his army found abundance of provisions to recruit after the famine they had endured in their imprudent march through the deserts intervening between Peru and that country. With these advantages of abundant provisions in a fertile soil and mild climate, it appears that the first writers who treated of Chili cannot have greatly exaggerated in saying that it was filled with inhabitants at the first arrival of the Spaniards. Even the circumstance of one language being spoken through the whole country, is a proof that all the tribes were in the habit of continual intercourse, and that they were not isolated by vast unpeopled deserts, as is the case in many other parts of America.

Agriculture appears to have made no inconsiderable progress among the Chilese, who cultivated a great variety of alimentary plants, all distinguished by peculiar and appropriate names, which could not have been the case except in consequence of an extensive and varied cultivation. They even had aqueducts in many parts of the country for watering or irrigating their fields; and, among these, the canal which runs for many miles along the rough skirts of the mountains near the capital, and waters the lands to the north of that city, remains a remarkably solid and extensive monument of their ingenious industry. They were likewise acquainted with the use of manure, called *vunalti* in their language; but, from the great fertility of the soil, little attention was paid to that subject. They used a kind of spade or breast-plough of hard wood for turning the soil, which was pushed forwards by their breasts. At present the native Chilese use a very simple plough, called *chetague*, made of the branch of a tree crooked at one end, having a wooden share and a single handle by which it is guided. Whether this simple implement has been taught them by the Spaniards, or is of their own invention I know not; but should believe it original, as Admiral Spilsberg observed a plough of this kind, drawn by two Chilihueques, used by the natives of the Isle of Mocha in the Araucanian Sea, where the Spaniards never had a settlement. The Fathers Bry add, that the Chilese tilled their lands by means of these animals before the arrival of any European cattle. However this may have been, it is certain that this Araucanian camel was employed by the natives as a beast of burden

den before the arrival of the Spaniards, and the transition from burden to draught is not difficult.

The Chilese cooked their grain for food in various ways, by boiling in earthen pots, or roasting it in hot sand, and by grinding it into meal, which they prepared in the form of gruel, of cakes, and of bread. Meal made of parched grain was called *murque*, and when made from grain merely dried in the sun *rugo*. Of the first they made gruels, and a kind of beverage still used for breakfast. Of the second they made cakes, and a kind of bread called *covque*, which was baked in holes dug in the sides of hills or the banks of rivers, in the form of ovens, many of which are still to be seen. They had even invented a kind of sieve, called *chignigue*, to separate the bran from the flour, and employed leaven in baking their bread. From the grains already mentioned, and the fruits or berries of different trees, they made nine or ten different kinds of fermented liquors, which they made and kept in jars of earthen-ware.

Having adopted the settled mode of life indispensable to an agricultural people, the Chilese were collected into families or septs more or less numerous, in those situations which were best suited for procuring subsistence, where they established themselves in large villages, called *cara*, or in small ones called *lov*. These villages consisted only of a number of huts irregularly dispersed within sight of each other, and some of them still subsist in several parts of Spanish Chili. The most considerable of these are *Lampa* in the province of St Jago, and *Lora* in the province of Maule. In each village or hamlet they had a chief named *Ulmen*, who was subject in certain points to the supreme ruler of the tribe, or *apo-ulmen*. The succession of these chiefs was by hereditary descent; and from their title of office, which signifies a rich man, it would appear that wealth had been the original means of raising these families to the rank they now occupy, contrary to the usages of other savage nations in which strength, skill in hunting, or martial prowess appear to have been the steps by which individuals have risen to rank and power. The authority of these chiefs or *ulmens* appears to have been extremely limited, being merely of a directive nature and not absolute. The right of private property was fully established among the Chilese, as every individual was the absolute master of the land he cultivated, and of the produce of his industry, both of which descended to his posterity by hereditary succession.

The

The houses or huts of the Chilese were built in a quadrangular form, of wood covered with clay, and the roof covered with rushes; though in some instances the walls were of brick, the use of which they seem to have learned from the Peruvians, as they used the Peruvian term *tica* for that material. From the wool of the Chilihueques they manufactured cloth for their apparel, using the spindle and distaff for spinning this wool into yarn, and two different kinds of looms for weaving the yarn into cloth. One of these, called *guregue*, is not very unlike the ordinary loom of Europe; but the other is vertical or upright, and called *uthalgue*, from the verb *uthalen*, signifying to stand upright. From a verb in their language, *nudaven*, which signifies to sew, they must have used some kind of needle to sew their garments; but I know not of what substance it was composed. They seem even to have been acquainted with the art of embroidery, called *dumican* in their language. From excellent clay which is found abundantly in Chili, they made pots, plates, cups, and large jars to hold their fermented liquors, baking these vessels in holes or ovens made in the declivities of hills; and they even used a kind of mineral earth called *colo*, for varnishing these vessels. Besides these vessels of clay, they made others of hard wood, and even of marble; some vases of which excellently polished have been dug out from under a large heap of stones in the mountains of Arauco. From the earth they extracted gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead, and employed these metals in a variety of useful and curious works. Particularly from their native copper, which is a kind of bell-metal and very hard, they made axes, hatchets, and other edged tools, but in small quantities, as these are very rarely met with in their ancient sepulchres; where, on the contrary, hatchets made of a species of basalt or very hard stone are very often found. They seem even to have known the use of iron, as it is called *panilgue* in their language, and weapons made of it are termed *chiuquel*, while those made of other materials are called *nulin*. A smith likewise is called *ruthavé*, from *ruthan*, signifying to work in iron.

The ancient Chilese had discovered the art of making salt, both from sea water and from inland salt springs; calling the former *chiadi*, and the latter *lilco-chiadi*, or salt from the water of rocks. They procured dyes of various colours for their clothes, both from the juice of plants and from mineral earths, and had discovered the art of fixing them by means of the *polcura*, an aluminous or astringent mineral. Instead of soap,


they

they used the back of the *quillai*, which is an excellent substitute. In their language there are many words discriminative of various kinds of baskets and mats, which they manufactured from various vegetables. From a plant called *gnocchia*, they procured a strong fibrous substance resembling hemp, of which they made ropes and fishing nets of different kinds; and the inhabitants on the coast used canoes of different kinds and sizes, and floats or rafts of wood, or of inflated seal skins. Though not peculiarly addicted to hunting, they were accustomed to kill the wild animals and birds of the country, both for amusement and subsistence; for which purpose they used bows and arrows, and the *laque* or running noose which is employed with so much ingenuity by many of the South American natives. It is a singular fact that they had the same device as the Chinese, for catching wild ducks in their lakes and rivers, covering their heads with perforated gourds, and wading among the flocks.

They had advanced so far in the knowledge of numbers, as to have distinctive names for the ten units, and for an hundred and a thousand, with all the intermediate numbers compounded of decimal terms. To preserve the memory of their transactions, they used a bunch of threads of several colours called *pron*, similar to the *quippo* of the Peruvians, on which they cast a number of knots according to circumstances. The subject was indicated by the colour of the threads, and the knots designated the number or quantity, but I have not been able to discover any other purpose to which this species of register could be applied. The *quippo* is still used by the shepherds in Peru, to keep an account of the number in their flocks, to mark the day and hour when the different ewes yeaned, or when any of their lambs are lost.

The religious system of the Araucanians, formerly that of all the native tribes of Chili, resembles in a great measure the freedom of their modes of life and government. They acknowledge a Supreme Being, the creator of all things, whom they name *Pillan*, a word derived from *pulli* or *pilli*, the soul. He is likewise named *Guenu-pillan*, the soul or spirit of heaven; *Buta-gen*, the great being; *Thalcove* [6], the thunderer;

6 *Pillan*, according to Dobrizhoffer, is likewise the word for thunder. In a similar manner, *Tupa* or *Tupi*, among all the Tupi tribes of Brazil, and the Guaranies of Paraguay, signifies both God and thunder.—E.



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derer; *Vilvemvoe*, the creator of all things; *Vilpepilvoe*, the omnipotent; *Mollgelu*, the eternal; *Avnolu* the omnipotent; and is designed by many other similar epithets. Their ideas of the government of heaven form in a great measure a prototype of the Araucanian system of civil polity; Pillan is considered as the great *Toqui* of the invisible world of Spirits[7], and is supposed to have his *Apo-ulmens* and *Ulmens*, or subordinate deities of two different ranks, to whom he entrusts the administration of lesser affairs. In the first class of these inferior deities, are *Epunamun*, or the god of war; *Meulen*, a benevolent being, the friend of the human race; and *Guecubu*, a malignant being, the author of all evil, who is likewise called *Algue*. Hence they appear to entertain the doctrine of two adverse principles, improperly called Manicheism. *Guecubu*, or *Huecuvu*, is named *Mavari* by the natives on the Orinoco, and is the same with the *Aherman* of the ancient Persians. To him every evil is attributed. If a horse tire, he has been ridden by *Guecubu*. In an earthquake, *Guecubu* has given the world a shock; and the like in all things. The *Ulmens*, or subaltern deities of their celestial hierarchy, resemble the genii, and are supposed to have the charge of earthly things, and to form, in concert with the benevolent Meulen, a counterpoise to the prodigious power of the malignant Guecuba. These *ulmens* of the spiritual world are conceived to be of both sexes, who always continue pure and chaste without propagation. The males are called *Gen*, or lords; the females *Amei-malghen*, or spiritual nymphs, and are supposed to perform the same friendly offices to men which were anciently attributed to the *lares*, and every Araucanian imagines he has one of these attendant spirits in his service. *Nien cai gni Amchi-malghen*, I keep my nymph still, is a common expression when any one succeeds in an undertaking. Pursuant to the analogy of their own earthly government, as their *Ulmens* have no right to impose any service or contribution on the people whom they govern, so they conceive the celestial race require no services from man, having occasion for none. Hence they have neither idols nor temples, and offer no sacrifices, except in case of some severe calamity, or on the conclusion of a peace, when they sacrifice animals, and burn tobacco as a grateful incense to their

7 Among the Moluches, the general name of the Supreme Being, according to Falkner, is *Toqui-chen*, or the supreme ruler of the people.—E.

their deities. Yet they invoke them and implore their aid on urgent occasions, chiefly addressing *Pillan* and *Meulen*.

Notwithstanding the small regard which they pay to their deities, they are extremely superstitious in matters of less importance, and are firm believers in divination, paying the utmost attention to favourable and unfavourable omens, to dreams, the singing and flight of birds, and the like, which they believe to denote the pleasure of the gods. They have accordingly jugglers or diviners, who pretend to a knowledge of futurity, who are called *Gligua* and *Dugol*; some of them call themselves *Guenguenu* or masters of heaven, *Guen-pugnu* or masters of disease, *Guen-piru*, or masters of worms, and the like. These diviners pretend to the power of producing rain, of curing diseases, of preventing the ravages of the worms which destroy the grain, and so on. They are in perpetual dread of imaginary beings, called *Calcus* or sorcerers, who in their opinion remain concealed in caverns by day, along with their disciples or servants, called *Ivunches* or man-animals, who transform themselves at night into owls and shoot invisible arrows at their enemies.

They all believe in the immortality of the soul, which they call *am* or *pulli*, and which they say is *ancanolu* or incorporeal, and *mugealu*, or existing for ever; but they are not agreed as to the state of the soul after this life. All say that it goes after death to the west beyond the sea, to a place called *Gulcheman*, or the dwelling of the men beyond the mountains. Some believe this country is divided into two provinces; one that is pleasant and filled with every thing delightful, the abode of the good; the other desolate and devoid of every comfort, the dwelling of the wicked. Others again conceive that all enjoy eternal pleasure after this life, and that the deeds done in the body have no influence on the future lot. They believe the soul retains its original attachments and dislikes, and that the spirits of their departed countrymen frequently return and fight furiously with those of their former enemies, when they meet in the air; and to these combats they attribute the origin of tempests and of thunder and lightning. When a storm happens on the Andes or the ocean, they ascribe it to a battle between the spirits of their departed countrymen and those of the Spaniards. If the storm take its course towards the Spanish territory, they exclaim triumphantly, *Inavimen, inavimen, puen, laguvimen!* Pursue them friends, pursue them, kill them! If the

the storm tends towards their own country, they cry out in consternation, *Yavulumen, puen, namuntumen!* Courage friends, be firm!

They have a tradition of a great deluge, in which only a few persons were saved by taking refuge on a high mountain, named *Thegtheg*, the thundering or sparkling, which had three points, and had the property of floating on the waters. On the occurrence of violent earthquakes, they fly for refuge to the mountains, fearful that the sea may again deluge the world; and on these occasions, every one takes a good supply of provisions, and a large wooden platter to protect the head, in case the *Thegtheg* when raised by the waters should approach the sun.

The year of the Araucanians is solar, and begins on the 22d of December, or immediately after the southern solstice, which they call *Thaumathipantu*, or the head and tail of the year, and are able to ascertain this period with tolerable precision by means of watching the shadows. The 22d of June is called *Udanthipantu*, the divider of the year, as dividing it into two equal parts. The whole year is called *Tipantu*, or the course of the sun, and is divided into twelve months of thirty days each, to which they add five intercallary days to complete the tropical year, but in what way I have not been able to determine. The months are called *cujen*, or moons, and have the following names:

Avun-cujen,	the month of fruit,	corresponding to January
Coji-cujen,	the month of harvest,	———— February
Glor-cujen,	the month of maize,	———— March
Rimu-cujen,	the 1st month of rimu,	———— April
Inarimu-cujen,	the 2d month of rimu,	———— May
Thor-cujen,	the 1st month of foam,	———— June
Inanthor-cujen,	the 2d month of foam,	———— July
Huin-cujen,	the unpleasant month,	———— August
Pillal-cujen,	the treacherous month,	———— September
Hueul-cujen,	1st month of new winds,	———— October
Inan-hueul-cujen,	2d month of new winds,	———— November
Hueviru-cujen,	the month of new fruits,	———— December

The year is divided into four seasons; the spring being called *Peughen*, the summer *Ucan*, the autumn *Gualug*, and the winter *Pucham*. The natural day is divided into twelve parts or hours, called *gliagantu*, six of which belong to the day and six to the night, all of which have particular names. Commencing at midnight, there are Puliuen, Ueun, Thipanantu,

panantu, Maleu, Vutamaleu, Ragiantu, Culunantu, Gullantu, Conantu, Guvquenantu, Puni, Ragipun. The stars in general are named *huaglen*, which they distribute into constellations called *pal* or *ritha*. The pleiades are named *Cajupal*, or the constellation of six; the antarctic cross *Meleritho*, the constellation of four, and so on. The milky-way is named *Rupucpen*, the fabulous road. The planets are called *gau*, a word derived from *gaun* to wash, as they suppose them to dip into the sea when they set; and some conceive them to be other earths inhabited like our own. The sky is called *Guenu-mapu*, or the heavenly country; the moon *Cuyen-mapu*, or the country of the moon. Comets are called *Cheru-voc*, as believed to be terrestrial exhalations inflamed in the upper region of the air. The eclipses of the sun and moon are called *Lay-antu* and *Lay-cujen*, or the deaths of the sun and moon.

Their measures of length are the *nela* or palm, the *duche* or foot, *namun* the pace, *thecan* the ell, and *tupu* the league, which answers to the marine league or the pharasang of the Persians: But they estimate long distances by mornings, corresponding to our days journeys. The liquid measures are the *guampar*, about a quart; *can* about a pint; and the *mencu*, which is still smaller. The dry measures are the *chiaique*, about six pints; and the *gliepu*, which is double that quantity.

Oratory is held in high estimation, and is the road to honour and the management of public affairs; insomuch that the eldest son of an *Ulmen*, if deficient in that talent, is excluded from the right of succession, which devolves upon a younger son, or the nearest male relative who happens to be an able speaker. On this account, parents accustom their sons to speak in public from their early youth, and carry them to the national assemblies, where the best orators of the nation display their eloquence. Hence the universal attention to speak the language correctly and to preserve its purity. They are so careful to avoid the introduction of any foreign words into their language, that when any stranger settles among them he is obliged to adopt a new name in the *Chili-dugu* or language of the country, and even the missionaries must conform to this singular regulation, if they would obtain favour; and so fastidious are they in attention to the purity of their language, that the audience will interrupt a missionary while preaching, to correct the mistakes in language or pronunciation. Many of them are well acquainted with the

Spanish language; and, from being accustomed to a soft regular and varied language, they are able easily to learn the pronunciation of the different European dialects, as was observed by Captain Wallis of the Patagonians, who are real Chilese. They are so unwilling however to use the Spanish, that they never use it in any of the assemblies or congresses between the two nations, and rather choose to listen to a tiresome interpretation than to degrade the dignity of their native tongue by using another on such occasions. Their style of oratory is highly figurative, elevated, allegorical, and replete with peculiar phrases and expressions that are only used on such occasions; whence it is called *coyag-tucan*, or the style of public harangues. They commonly divide their subject into regular heads, called *thoy*, and usually specify the number they mean to enlarge upon; saying *Epu thoygei tamen piavin*, "what I am going to say is divided into two heads." Their speeches are not deficient in a suitable exordium, a clear narrative, a well-founded argument, and a pathetic peroration; and usually abound in parables and apologues, which sometimes furnish the main substance of the discourse.

Their poets are called *gempin*, or lords of speech; and their poetry generally contains strong and lively images, bold figures, frequent allusions and similitudes, new and forcible expressions, and possesses the power of exciting sensibility. It is every where animated and metaphorical, and allegory is its very soul and essence. Their verses are mostly composed in stanzas of eight or eleven syllables, and are for the most part blank, yet rhyme is occasionally introduced, according to the taste or caprice of the poet.

They have three kinds of physicians. Of these the *ampives*, who are skilful herbalists, are the best, and have even some skill in the pulse and other diagnostics of disease. The *vileus* pretend that all contagious diseases are produced by insects or worms, and are therefore often called *cutampiru*, which signifies vermiculous diseases, or diseases proceeding from worms. The *machis* are a superstitious class, or pretenders to sorcery, and allege that all diseases proceed from witchcraft, and pretend therefore to cure them by supernatural means, for which reason they are employed in desperate cases, when the exertions of the *ampives* and *vileus* have proved ineffectual. They have likewise a kind of surgeons, called *gutarve*, who are skilful in replacing luxations, setting

fractured

fractured bones, and curing wounds and ulcers. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Chilese doctors used bleeding, blistering, emetics, cathartics, sudorifics, and even glysters. They let blood by means of a sharp flint fixed in a small stick; and for giving glysters they employ a bladder and pipe. Their emetics, cathartics, and sudorifics are all obtained from the vegetable kingdom.

Their commerce, both internal and external, is all carried on by barter, as they have not adopted the use of money; and this is regulated by a conventional tariff, according to which the values of all articles in commerce are appraised under the name of *cullen*, or payment. Their external trade is with the Spaniards, with whom they exchange *ponchos*, or Chilese cloaks, and animals, for wine or European articles. The Spaniards of the province of Maulé supply the Araucanians with iron ware, bits for bridles, cutlery, grain, and wine; and are paid in *ponchos* of which they receive above 40,000 yearly, in horned cattle, horses, ostrich feathers, curious baskets, and other trifles; for it has never been possible to induce them to open their gold mines. The Spanish merchant has in the first place to obtain permission from the ulmens or heads of families of a district, after which he proceeds to all the houses, distributing his merchandize indiscriminately to all who present themselves. When he has completed his sale, he gives notice of his departure, and all the purchasers hasten to an appointed village, where they deliver the articles agreed for with the utmost punctuality.

Section IV.

First Expedition of the Spaniards into Chili under Almagro.

After the death of Atahualpa and the subjection of the Peruvian empire by Pizarro and Almagro, Pizarro persuaded his companion Almagro to undertake the conquest of Chili then celebrated for its riches, being desirous to enjoy the sole command in Peru. Filled with sanguine expectations of a rich booty, Almagro began his march for Chili in the end [1] of the year 1535, with an army of 570 Spaniards, and accompanied by 15,000 Peruvians, under the command of

[1] The beginning of that year according to Ovale.—E.

of Paullu [2], the brother of the Inca *Manco*, the nominal emperor of Peru, who had succeeded to Atahualpa and Huascar. Two roads lead from Peru to Chili; one of which by the maritime plain, is the arid desert of Atacama, destitute of water and provisions; while the other passes for about 120 miles over the immense ridge of the Andes, and is attended by excessive inconveniences and almost insurmountable difficulties. Almagro chose this road because it was the shortest from Cuzco; and in this march his army had to endure infinite fatigue, and almost incessant conflicts with the barbarous tribes in the several districts through which he had to pass. He at length reached the eastern side of the vast chain of the Andes at the commencement of winter, almost destitute of provisions, and ill supplied with clothing to protect his people under the inclemencies of the region he had still to penetrate. At the season of the year which he unfortunately chose, snow falls almost continually among the Andes, and completely fills and obliterates the narrow paths that are even difficultly passable in summer. The soldiers, however, animated by their general, and ignorant of the dangers they had to encounter, advanced with inconceivable toil to the summit of the rugged ascent. But by the severity of the weather, and the want of provisions, 150 of the Spaniards perished by the way; and 10,000 of the Peruvians, less able to endure the rigours of that frozen region, were destroyed. Not one of all the army would have escaped, had not Almagro pushed resolutely forward with a small party of horse to Copaipo, whence he sent back succours and provisions to his army still engaged in the defiles of the mountains. By these means, those of the most robust constitutions, who had been able to resist the inclemency of the weather, were enabled to extricate themselves from the snow, and at length reached the plains of Copaipo, the most northerly province in Chili, where they were kindly received and entertained by the inhabitants, through respect for the Peruvians.

As the Inca Paullu was well acquainted with the object of this expedition, he obliged the inhabitants of Copaipo to deliver up to him all the gold in their possession, which he immediately presented to Almagro, to the value of 500,000 ducats.

2 By Ovale this Peruvian prince is called Paullo Topo, and the high priest of the Peruvians, Villacumu, is said to have been likewise sent in company with Almagro.—E.

ducats. Almagro was highly pleased with this first fruit of his labours, and immediately distributed the whole among his soldiers, to whom also he remitted immense debts which they owed him, as he had advanced them all the funds which were necessary to fit them out for the expedition. Almagro soon learnt that the reigning Ulmen of Copaipo had usurped the government of that province in prejudice of his nephew and ward, who had fled to the woods. Calling the lawful heir into his presence, he arrested the guilty chief, and reinstated the lawful heir in the government, with the universal applause of the natives, who attributed this conduct entirely to motives of justice and a wish to redress the injured.

When the Spaniards were recovered from their fatigues, through the hospitable assistance of the Copaipins, and were reinforced by an additional number of soldiers brought by Rodrigo Orgonez from Peru, Almagro and his troops commenced their march towards the more southerly provinces of Chili, full of the most flattering hopes of acquiring vast riches and splendid establishments in a fine country, which was interspersed on all sides with numerous villages, evincing an extensive population and fertile soil. The natives every where crowded round them on the march, to examine the wonderful strangers, and to present them with such things as they thought might prove agreeable to beings whom they conceived of a superior order to other men. In the mean time, two soldiers who had separated from the army, proceeded to the river Huasco which forms the boundary between the provinces of Copaipo and Coquimbo, where they were well received at first by the inhabitants; but, in consequence of some acts of violence, they were afterwards put to death, being the first European blood spilt in Chili, which has since been so copiously watered with the blood of the Spaniards. On being informed of this unfortunate accident, calculated to weaken the exalted notion which he wished to inspire into the natives of the character of his soldiers, Almagro hastened his march for Coquimbo, where he immediately ordered *Marcando* the head *ulmen* of the province, his brother, and twenty others of the principal inhabitants to be brought before him; all of whom he committed to the flames. This act of cruelty appeared extraordinary and unjust to every one; for even among these adventurers, inured to rapine and bloodshed, there still were some men of humanity and justice. The majority of the army openly disapproved the severity of the ge-

neral

neral on this occasion, and from this time his affairs ceased to be prosperous.

Some time in the year 1537, Almagro received a considerable reinforcement from Peru under the command of Juan de Rada; who likewise brought him letters patent from the king of Spain, by which he was appointed governor of 200 leagues of territory to the southward of the government which had been granted to Francisco Pizarro. By the same conveyance Almagro received letters from his friends in Peru, urging him to return to that country and to take possession of Cuzco, which they asserted was within the limits of the jurisdiction confided to him by his patent. But, as he entertained very sanguine ideas of the value of the conquest in which he was now engaged, he pursued his march towards the south, and passed the fatal *Cachapoal* or *Rapel*, regardless of the remonstrances of his Peruvian allies, who urged him to refrain from attempting to invade the country of the valiant Promaucians[3]. At the first appearance of the Spaniards, these brave Indians were astonished and terrified by the horses and thundering arms of the strangers; but soon recovering from the effects of their first surprise, they intrepidly opposed their new enemies on the banks of the Rio-claro. Despising their force, and ignorant of their bravery, Almagro placed his Peruvian allies in the first line, now considerably increased by an additional number whom Paullu had drawn from the Peruvian garrisons in Chili. But these troops were soon defeated by the Promaucians, and fell back in confusion on the line of Spaniards in the rear. The Spaniards, instead of remaining spectators of the battle, were now compelled to sustain the vigorous attack of the enemy; and, advancing with their horse, a furious battle was fought with considerable loss on both sides, and continued till night separated the combatants without either party having gained the victory.

Although the Promaucians had sustained a heavy loss in this battle, they courageously encamped within sight of the Spaniards, determined to renew the fight next morning. Though the Spaniards had kept possession of the field, and considered themselves victorious according to the customs of Europe, they were very differently inclined from their valiant enemies. Hitherto they had been accustomed to subdue extensive

3 Called *Purumaucans* by Garcilasso, and *Promocaes* by Ovale, who names the *Cauquenes* and *Pencos* as their allies.—E.

tensive provinces with little or no resistance, and became disgusted with an enterprise which could not be accomplished without much fatigue and danger, and the loss of much blood, having to contend against a bold and independent nation, by whom they were not considered as immortal or as a superior order of beings. It was therefore resolved by common consent to abandon the present expedition, yet they differed materially as to the conduct of their retreat; some being desirous to return into Peru entirely, while others wished to form a settlement in the northern provinces of Chili, where they had already received so much hospitality, and had acquired considerable riches. The first opinion was supported by Almagro, now strongly impressed by the suggestions of his friends in Peru to take possession of Cuzco. He represented to his soldiers the dangers to which a settlement would be exposed in so warlike a country, and persuaded them to follow him to Cuzco, where he expected to be able to establish his authority either by persuasion or force, pursuant to his royal patent.

Having determined to return into Peru, and having fatally experienced the dangers of the mountain road, Almagro resolved to march by the desert of Atacama in the maritime plain, by which he conducted his troops into Peru with very little loss in 1538. He took possession of Cuzco by surprise; and, after ineffectual negociations, he fought a battle with the brother of Pizarro, by whom he was taken prisoner and beheaded as a disturber of the public peace. Such was the fate of the first expedition of the Spaniards against Chili, undertaken by the best body of European troops that had hitherto been collected in those distant regions. The thirst of riches was the moving spring of this expedition, and the disappointment of their hopes the cause of its abandonment.

SECTION V.

Second Expedition into Chili, under Pedro de Valdivia, to the commencement of the War between the Spaniards and Araucanians.

HAVING obtained absolute command of the Spanish possessions on the western side of South America, by the defeat and death of his rival Almagro, Pizarro resolved to resume the

the conquest of Chili, which he conceived might become an important acquisition. Among the adventurers who had come from Spain to Chili, were two officers who held royal commissions to attempt this conquest, named Pedro Sanchez de Hoz, and Camargo. To Hoz had been confided the conquest of the country from the confines of Peru to the river Maulé; and to Camargo the remainder of the country beyond that river to the archipelago of Chiloé. Jealous of the interference of these officers in the country which he considered as his by right of discovery, Pizarro refused under frivolous pretences to confirm the royal nomination, and chose for the conduct of the expedition Pedro de Valdivia, his quarter-master, a prudent active and brave officer, who had acquired military experience in the wars of Italy, and who had already evinced a strong attachment to his party. On this occasion, Valdivia was directed to take Hoz along with him to Chili, and to allow him every advantage he could possibly desire in the allotment or repartition of lands and Indians in the expected conquest.

Valdivia accordingly set out from Cuzco in 1540, with a force of 200 Spaniards, and accompanied by a numerous body of Peruvian auxiliaries, taking likewise along with him some monks, several Spanish women, and a great number of European quadrupeds, with every requisite for settling a new colony in the country. On his march for Chili he pursued the same route with Almagro; but instructed by the misfortunes of his predecessor, he did not attempt to pass the Andes till the middle of summer, by which precaution he was enabled to enter Chili without incurring any loss. His reception there however, even in the northern provinces, was very different from that which had been experienced by Almagro. Informed of the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards, owing to which they were freed from the submission they had come under to the Incas, they did not consider themselves bound to transfer their obedience to the present invaders. The Copaipans accordingly began to attack Valdivia immediately on entering their country, assailing him at every step with much valour, but with very little conduct. Like barbarians in general, they were incapable of making a common cause with each other; and having been long accustomed to servitude under the Peruvians, during which all union among the northern tribes had been dissolved, they attacked their invaders in separate hordes as they advanced into the country, and

and without that steady and firm courage which stamps the valour of a free people in the defence of their liberties. In spite of this desultory and uncombined opposition from the natives, Valdivia traversed the provinces of Copaipo, Coquimbo, Quillota, and Melipilla, with very little loss though much harassed, and arrived in the province of Mapocho, now called St Jago.

This province, which is more than 600 miles from the confines of Peru, is one of the pleasantest and most fertile in the kingdom. Its name of Mapocho signifies in the Chilese language, *the land of many people;* and according to the earliest writers respecting Chili, its population was then extremely numerous. This province, which borders on the Andes, is 140 miles in circumference, and is watered by the rivers Maypo, Colina, Lampa, and Mapocho, which last divides it into two nearly equal parts. In one place this river sinks into the earth, and after a subterraneous course of five miles, emerges again with an increase of its waters, and finally joins the river Maypo. The mountains of Caren, which terminate this province on the north, abound in gold, and in that part of the Andes which forms the eastern boundary, there are several rich mines of silver. Valdivia had penetrated thus far into the country on purpose to render it difficult for his soldiers to return into Peru, and he now determined to form a settlement in this province, which from its remote situation and natural advantages, seemed excellently calculated to become the centre of his intended conquests. Having selected with this view a convenient situation on the left shore of the Mapocho, he laid the foundation of the intended capital of the kingdom of Chili, on the 24th of February 1541, naming this new city St Jago, in honour of the tutelary saint of Spain. In laying out the ground plan of the intended city, he divided the whole into plots or squares of 4096 toises each[1], and allotted a quarter of each square as the scite of a house for each citizen, which plan has been followed in laying out all the other cities in Chili. One of these areas situated on one side of the great square was destined for the cathedral and bishops palace, and another for the house of the governor and

1 Though not distinctly so expressed, this must be considered as square toises, making each side of the square 64 toises, or 384 feet. In a former account of the city of St Jago, the public square is described as being 450 feet on each side.—E.

and the public offices. He then appointed a cabildo or magistracy, according to the usual forms in Spanish cities, from those persons in his small army that were best qualified for the purpose; and, for the protection of the new settlement, in case of attack from the Chilese, he built a fort on a hill in the centre of the city, which has since received the name of St Lucia.

Though many have applauded the sagacity of Valdivia in the choice of a situation for the capital of the new colony, it would in my opinion have been much better placed on the banks of the river Maypo, about fifteen miles farther south; as that river is much larger than the Mapocho, has a direct communication with the sea, and might easily be made navigable for ships of considerable burden. In the year 1787, this city contained more than 40,000 inhabitants, and was rapidly increasing in population, owing to its being the seat of government, and the residence of many wealthy and luxurious families, by which it attracts considerable commerce.

The natives observed the progress of this new settlement with much jealousy, and concerted measures for freeing themselves from such unwelcome intruders; but, as Valdivia discovered their intentions, he confined the chiefs of the conspiracy in his new fortress; and having intimation of a secret intelligence being carried on between the Mapochians and their neighbours the Promaucians, he repaired with a body of sixty horse to the river Cachapoal or Rapel to watch the motions of that brave and enterprising nation. This precaution was however altogether unnecessary, as that fearless people had not sufficient policy or foresight to think of uniting with their neighbours in order to secure themselves from the impending danger. Taking advantage of the absence of Valdivia, the Mapochians fell upon the new settlement with desperate fury, burnt all the half-built houses, and assailed the citadel on all sides, in which the inhabitants had taken refuge. While the Spaniards were valiantly defending their imperfect fortifications, a woman named Inez Suarez, beat out the brains of all the captive chiefs with an axe, under the apprehension that they were endeavouring to regain their liberty, and might assist the assailants in gaining possession of the fort. The attack began at day-break, and was continued without intermission till night, fresh assailants continually occupying the places of those who were slain or disabled.

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The commandant of the Spaniards, Alonzo de Monroy, found means to send a messenger to inform Valdivia of his situation; and the governor accordingly hastened to the aid of the besieged with all possible expedition, and found the ditch almost filled with dead bodies, while the enemy, notwithstanding the heavy loss they had sustained, were preparing to renew the assault. Drawing out its infantry from the fort to join the cavalry he had along with him, Valdivia advanced in order of battle against the forces of the enemy, who were posted on the bank of the Mapocho. The battle was again renewed in this place, and obstinately contested with equal valour on both sides; but with great disadvantage on the part of the natives, who were far inferior in arms and discipline to the Spaniards. The musquetry and the horse made a dreadful slaughter among Mapochians, who were only armed with bows and slings; yet obstinately bent upon preserving their independence, and regardless of their own importance, they rushed on to inevitable destruction; till having lost the flower of their valiant warriors, and reduced to a small number, they at length fled and dispersed over the plain. Notwithstanding this memorable defeat, and others of not less importance which they sustained afterwards, the Mapochians did not cease for the space of six years to keep the Spaniards closely blockaded in St Jago, continually attacking them on every opportunity, and cutting off their provisions so effectually, that they were often reduced to great straits, having to subsist upon unwholesome and loathsome viands, and what little grain they were able to raise under protection of the cannon from the ramparts. At length, worn out and brought to utter ruin by this incessant warfare, the remnant of the Mapochians destroyed their own crops and retired to the mountains, leaving the fertile plains around the new city utterly deserted and uncultivated.

The soldiers under Valdivia became wearied and disgusted by this continual war, so different from what they had expected; and as they believed him obstinately bent upon adherence to his own plan, and resolved to continue the settlement in spite of every opposition from the natives, they entered into a conspiracy to kill their general and to return into Peru, where they expected to enjoy more ease and tranquillity. Having fortunately got notice of this conspiracy, Valdivia, who possessed great prudence and an insinuating address, soon conciliated those who were least implicated. After this,

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as he only had the title of general which did not confer any civil and judicial power, he assembled the Cabildo of the city, and persuaded them to invest him in the office of governor of the city and kingdom. In this imposing capacity, he tried and capitally punished some of the ringleaders of the conspiracy, and then prudently exerted himself to soothe the turbulent and seditious spirits of the remainder, by buoying up their hopes with the most flattering promises of future wealth. He had often heard in Peru, that the valley of Quillota abounded in mines of gold, and was hopeful therefore of being able to obtain a sufficient quantity from thence to satisfy the avidity of his soldiers. Notwithstanding the difficulties with which he was surrounded, he sent a party of soldiers into the valley of Quillota, with orders to superintend and protect a number of labourers in digging for the precious metal said to be abound in that place. The mine which was opened upon this occasion proved remarkably rich and productive, surpassing their most sanguine hopes; so that all their past sufferings and present difficulties were soon buried in oblivion, and henceforwards no one had the remotest wish to leave the country. Valdivia, encouraged by this success to new enterprises, ordered a carrack or ship of some considerable size to be built at the mouth of the river Chilan, which traverses the valley of Quillota, for the purpose of more readily obtaining succours from Peru, without which he was fully sensible he could not possibly succeed in the vast enterprise he had in view, which was no less than to accomplish the entire reduction of Chili.

In the mean time, considering the urgent state of his affairs, Valdivia resolved to dispatch two of his principal officers, Alonzo Monroy, and Pedro Miranda by land to Peru, with an escort of six horsemen, whose spurs, bits, and stirrups he directed to be made of solid gold, hoping thereby to entice a sufficient number of recruits to come to his assistance, by this obvious proof of the riches of the country. Although these messengers were escorted to the confines of Chili by thirty additional horsemen, they were attacked and defeated in the province of Copaipo by a hundred archers, commanded by Coteo, an officer of the *Ulmen* of that province. Of the whole party none escaped with life but the two officers, Monroy and Miranda, who were made prisoners and carried before the *ulmen* covered with wounds. The prince had resolved on putting them both to death; but, while deliberat-

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ing on the mode of execution, his wife, the *ulmena* or princess of Copaipo, moved by compassion for their unhappy situation, successfully interceded with her husband to spare their lives, unbound them with her own hands, tenderly dressed their wounds, and treated them as if they had been her brothers. When they were entirely recovered, she desired them to teach her son the art of riding, as several of the Spanish horses had been taken in the late defeat. The two Spaniards readily consented to her request, hoping to avail themselves of this circumstance to give them an opportunity of recovering their liberty, which they did in effect; but the means they employed was marked by a cruel act of ingratitude to their compassionate benefactress, of so much deeper turpitude that it was unnecessary for their purpose. As the young prince was one day riding between them, escorted by a party of archers and preceded by an officer carrying a lance, Monroy suddenly dispatched him with two or three mortal wounds of a poniard. At the same time Miranda wrested the lance from the officer of the guard, who were thrown into confusion by this unexpected event, and the two Spaniards readily accomplished their escape. Being well mounted, they easily eluded pursuit, and made their way through the desert into Peru, whence they continued their way to Cuzco, where Vaca de Castro then resided, who had succeeded to the government after the cruel assassination of Francisco Pizarro by the Almagrian faction.

When De Castro was informed of the critical situation of affairs in Chili, he immediately sent off a considerable reinforcement by land under the command of Monroy, who had the good fortune to conceal his march from the Copaipans, and to join Valdivia in safety. At the same time the president of Peru dispatched by sea Juan Batista Pastene, a noble Genoese, with a more considerable reinforcement for Valdivia. On receiving these two reinforcements, which arrived about the same time, Valdivia began to carry his great designs into execution. Being solicitous to have a complete knowledge of the sea-coast, he ordered Pastene to explore the whole as far to the southwards as possible, noting the most important places all along the coast; and, on his return from this maritime survey, he sent him back to Peru for additional reinforcements, as the natives had become every day bolder and more enterprising, ever since their victory in Copaipo over Monroy and Miranda. Only a little before this, the

Quillotans

Quillotans had contrived to massacre all the soldiers employed at the gold mines in their country, by the following stratagem. One day a neighbouring Indian brought a pot full of gold to Gonzalo Rios, the commandant at the mines, and told him that he had found a great quantity in a certain district of the country which he offered to point out. On this information, all were eager to proceed immediately to the place, that they might participate in the imaginary treasure. As they arrived at the place described in a tumultuary manner and entirely off their guard, they fell into an ambush, by which the whole party was slain, except their imprudent commander and one negro, both of whom saved their lives by the speed of their horses. About the same time the vessel which Valdivia had ordered to be built at the mouth of the river Chillan was burnt by the natives, together with the store-houses or arsenal which he had established in that place.

On receiving notice of the disaster which had taken place at the mines, Valdivia hastened to Quillota with a strong body of troops, and took revenge as far as he could on the Quillotans for the death of his soldiers; after which he constructed a fort in their country in which he left a garrison for the protection of the people employed in the gold mines. Being soon afterwards reinforced by three hundred men from Peru, under the command of Francisco Villagran and Christoval Escobar, he made choice of a beautiful plain near the mouth of the river Coquimbo, at which place there is a very convenient natural harbour, near which he erected in 1544 a city which he named *Serena*, to serve as a place of arms to protect the northern part of Chili, and to secure the convoys and reinforcements which might come from Peru in that direction. This place is still known in geography by the name of Serena; but in Chili the native name of Coquimbo prevails, as is the case with most of the Spanish cities and towns in Chili.

In the ensuing year, 1545, Valdivia marched into the country of the Promaucians, with the view of extending his conquests to the southwards. Contemporary historians have not left an account of the events of this year, nor of any battles having been fought on this occasion; yet it is hardly to be supposed that this valiant tribe, who had so gloriously repulsed the armies of the Inca and of Almagro, would allow Valdivia to reduce their territory to subjection without a struggle. However this may have been, it is certain that he had the

art to persuade the Promaucians to enter into an alliance with him against the other tribes of Chili; as ever since the Spanish armies in Chili have been assisted by Promaucian auxiliaries, owing to which the most rooted antipathy has been constantly entertained by the Araucanians against the remnant of the Promaucians. In the year 1546, Valdivia passed the river Maulé, and reduced the natives to obedience from that river to the Itata. While encamped at a place named Quilacura, near the latter river, he was attacked one night by the natives, who destroyed many of his horses, and put him into imminent danger of a total defeat. His loss on this occasion must have been considerable; as he found it necessary to relinquish his plan of farther conquest, and to return to St Jago to wait reinforcements from Peru. As the expected reinforcements did not arrive, and Pastene, who had been sent into Peru to endeavour to procure recruits, brought news in 1547 of the civil war which then raged in Peru, Valdivia determined to go thither in person, expecting to reap some advantages from these revolutionary movements.

Valdivia sailed therefore with Pastene for Peru, taking with him a great quantity of gold, and left Francisco Villagran in charge of the government of Chili during his absence. Valdivia accordingly arrived in Peru, where he offered his services to the president De la Gasca, and acted with great reputation as quarter-master-general of his army in the war against Gonzalo Pizarro. The president was so much satisfied with the services which were rendered by Valdivia on this occasion, that, after the insurrection of Gonzalo was entirely subdued, he confirmed him in the office of governor of Chili, and sent him back to that kingdom with abundance of military stores, and with two ships filled with the soldiers who had served under Gonzalo in the late insurrection, glad of an opportunity of getting rid of so many seditious people for whom there was then no fit employment in Peru.

During the absence of Valdivia from Chili, Pedro de Hoz, who had been deprived of that share in the conquest and government which had been granted him by the court of Spain, and who had imprudently put himself under the power of his more successful rival, was accused of entering into secret practices for usurping the government. It is now unknown whether this accusation was well-founded, or if it were merely a pretence for getting rid of him; but, however this may have been, Villagran condemned him to be beheaded in 1548, either to please Valdivia by ridding him of a dangerous com-

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petitor, or perhaps in consequence of secret instructions for that purpose. About this time, the Copaipans killed forty Spaniards, who were proceeding in several separate detachments from Peru to Chili; and the Coquimbans, at the instigation of these northern neighbours, massacred all the inhabitants of the new city of Serena, and razed that place to the foundations. On this occasion Francisco Aguirre was sent into this part of Chili with a military force, to chastise the natives, and had several encounters with them with various success. In 1549, he rebuilt the city of Serena in a more commodious situation, and the inhabitants have ever since considered him as the founder of their city, many of the most distinguished inhabitants of which still boast of being his descendants.

After an incessant contest of nine years, attended by incredible fatigues, numerous dangers, and many reverses, Valdivia considered himself as solidly established in the dominion of that portion of Chili which had formerly been under the authority of the Incas. He accordingly distributed the territory among his followers in repartimientos, assigning a considerable portion of land with all its native inhabitants to each of his followers in proportion to their rank and services, under the denomination of commanderies, according to the baneful system of feudalism then prevalent in Europe. Having thus quieted the restless ambition and mutinous spirit of his soldiers, he advanced towards the south to extend his conquests, accompanied by a respectable force both of Spanish and Promaucians. After a march of 250 miles, during which he encountered few obstacles of any moment, he arrived at the Bay of Penco, now generally called the Bay of Conception, which had been already explored by Pastene during his voyage of discovery formerly mentioned; and near that excellent bay he laid the foundation of the third city in Chili, on the 5th of October 1550, to which he gave the name of Conception.

The situation of this place was admirably adapted for commerce, from the excellence of its harbour; as the bay extends six miles from east to west and nine miles from north to south, defended at its entrance from the sea by the pleasant island of Quiriquina. The passage into the bay on the north side of this island, called the *bocca grande*, is about half a league broad, and has sufficient water for the largest ships. That on the other side of the island, or *bocca chica*, is very narrow,

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and is only navigable by small vessels. The soil around this place, under the influence of an admirable climate, produces abundance of timber, excellent wine, and all the necessaries of life, and is not deficient in the valuable minerals; and both the sea and the adjoining rivers afford great quantities of fine fish. But owing to the lowness of the situation which was chosen for this city, it was much exposed to inundations of the sea during earthquakes, which are frequent in Chili. On the 8th of July 1730, this city was nearly destroyed by an earthquake and inundation; and experienced a similar calamity on the 24th of May 1751. In consequence of these repeated calamities, the inhabitants established themselves on the 24th of November 1764 in the valley of Mocha, nine miles south from Penco, between the rivers Andalian and Biobio, where they founded a city to which they gave the name of New Conception. The harbour named Talgacuano, situated at the south-east extremity of the bottom of the bay, is between six and seven miles from the new city; and a fort is all that now remains of the old city, now called Penco.

Section VI.

Narrative of the War between the Spaniards and Araucanians, from the year 1550, *to the Defeat and Death of Pedro de Valdivia on the* 3d *of December* 1553.

Perceiving the intentions of Valdivia to occupy the important post of Penco by a permanent settlement, the adjacent tribes of the Pencones gave notice of this invasion to the great nation of the Araucanians, their neighbours and friends, whose territories began on the southern shore of the Biobio; who, foreseeing that the strangers would soon endeavour to reduce their own country to subjection, determined to succour their distressed allies for their own security. Accordingly, in a *butacoyog*, or general assembly of the Araucanian confederacy, *Aillavalu* was nominated supreme *toqui*, and was instructed to march immediately with an army to the assistance of the Pencones. In the year 1550, pursuant to the resolutions of the Araucanian confederacy, Aillavalu passed the great river Biobio, at the head of 4000 men, and boldly offered battle to Valdivia, who had advanced to meet him on the banks of the Andalian. The brave Araucanians sustain-

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ed the first discharges of musquetry from the Spaniards with wonderful resolution, and even made a rapid evolution under its direful effects, by which they assailed at once the front and flank of the Spanish army. By this unexpected courageous assault, and even judicious tactical manoeuvre, the Spaniards were thrown into some disorder, and Valdivia was exposed to imminent danger, having his horse killed under him; but the Spaniards replaced their firm array, forming themselves into a hollow square supported by their cavalry, and successfully resisted every effort of their valiant enemies, of whom they slew great numbers by the superiority of their arms, yet lost at the same time a considerable number of their own men. The battle remained undecided for several hours; when at length, rashly pressing forwards with impetuous bravery, Aillavalu received a mortal wound[1], and many of the most valiant officers and soldiers of the Araucanians being slain, they retired in good order, leaving the field of battle to the Spaniards, who felt no inclination to pursue them after a so dear-bought victory.

Valdivia, though he had been present in many battles, both in Europe and America, was astonished at the valour and military skill of this new enemy, and declared he had never been exposed to such imminent danger in the whole course of his military service. As he expected to be soon attacked again, he immediately proceeded to construct a strong fortification for the protection of his new city; and in fact, the Araucanian confederacy was no sooner informed of the defeat and death of their general Aillavalu, than a new and more numerous army was ordered against the Spaniards, under the command of *Lincoyan*, who was elected to the vacant office of supreme toqui. From his gigantic stature, and frequent displays of courage, this officer had acquired great reputation among his countrymen; but, though well suited for a subaltern officer, he was timid and irresolute in the supreme military command, and greatly disappointed the expectations which had been formed from his former behaviour.

Having marshalled his army in three divisions, Lincoyan marched in 1551 to attack the Spaniards under Valdivia, who still remained at Conception, occupied in building and fortifying the new city. The Spaniards were so much alarmed by

1 In Ovalle, this general is named Anabillo, and is said to have been made prisoner in the battle.—E.

by the approach of the Araucanian army, that after confess ing themselves, they took shelter under the cannon of their fortifications, where the Araucanians boldly assailed them: But, finding the first assault unsuccessful, Lincoyan became apprehensive of losing the army which had been committed to his charge, and ordered a precipitate retreat, to the great surprise of Valdivia, who was apprehensive of some stratagem, and did not venture upon attempting a pursuit. When it was discovered that the enemy had actually retreated, the Spaniards considered their flight as a special favour from heaven, and some even alleged that they had seen the apostle St James, mounted on a white horse, waving a flaming sword and striking terror into their enemies. But the only miracle on this occasion proceeded from the timid circumspection of Lincoyan.

Being now in some measure freed from the restraint imposed upon him by the Araucanians, Valdivia applied himself diligently to the building of the city of Conception, for which place he entertained a strong predilection, as he considered that it would become the centre of maritime communication between Chili and the ports of Peru and Spain. Although he had fixed upon St Jago for the capital of the kingdom of Chili, he determined upon establishing his own family at Conception; for which purpose he selected a pleasant situation for his own dwelling, reserving for himself the fertile peninsula between the rivers Andalian and Biobio, and resolved to ask as a reward for his services the two adjoining districts of Arauco and Tucapel, with the title of marquis: For, although these districts still remained in the possession of the Araucanians, he fully expected to be able to subjugate that valiant people in a short time.

Having speedily reared the new city, in which he established a colony of his followers, he employed the remainder of the year 1551 in regulating its internal policy; for which purpose, after having established a Cabildo or body of magistrates, in imitation of those in Spain, as usual in all the cities of Spanish America, he promulgated a body of fundamental regulations, comprised in forty-two articles or statutes, some of which respecting the treatment of the natives within its territory and jurisdiction evinced much prudent humanity; yet, as in all the other subjected countries of America, he left them in a great measure subject to the control and caprice of the citizens to whom they were allotted.

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After the settlement of his new city, and having received a reinforcement of soldiers from Peru, he resolved to attack the Araucanians in their own territories, believing that their courage was now entirely subdued, as they had made no attempt to molest him since their late repulse under Lincoyan. With these views, he passed the Biobio in 1552, and proceeding rapidly through the provinces of Encol and Puren, unopposed by the tardy and timid operations of Lincoyan, he arrived at the river Cauten, which divides the country of the Araucanians nearly into two equal parts. Near the confluence of this river with the Damas, he founded a new city which he named *Imperial*[2], in honour of the Emperor Don Carlos; though some say that it received this name in consequence of finding some wooden figures of eagles with two heads, fixed on some of the native huts. This city was placed in a beautiful situation, abounding in all the conveniences of life; and, during the short period of its existence became one of the most flourishing in Chili. Being placed on the shore of a large and deep river, capable of allowing large ships to lie close to the walls, it was excellently situated for commerce, and had free access to receive succours of all kinds by sea in case of being besieged. By modern geographers, this place is still spoken of as an existing city, strongly fortified, and the seat of a bishopric; but it has been in ruins for considerably more than two hundred years.

Intoxicated with his present prosperity, and the apparent submission of the Araucanians, he assigned extensive districts in the surrounding country among his officers. To Francisco Villagran, his lieutenant-general, he gave the warlike province of *Maquegua*, considered by the Araucanians as the key of their country, with about thirty thousand inhabitants. The other officers obtained grants of lands and Indians proportionate to their rank, and the degree in which they possessed his favour, some getting as far as eight or even ten thousand Indians. He likewise dispatched Alderte, with a detachment of sixty men, with orders to establish a settlement on the shore of a lake called *Lauquen*, to which he gave the name of *Villarica*, or the rich city, owing to the great quantity of gold that was procured in the environs.

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2 The place where Imperial once stood is marked on our maps on the right or north shore of the conjoined streams of the Ouisa and Cauten, immediately above the junction of a small river which is probably the Damas of the text.—E.

It may be here mentioned that the province of *Maquegua* was partitioned anew among the conquerors after the death of Villagran; the principal part of it being assigned to Juan de Ocampo, and another large share to Andreas Matencio. But, in consequence of its recapture by the Araucanians, they reaped very little advantage from their commanderies. Ocampo was afterwards rewarded for his distinguished services by being appointed to the office of corregidore of the cities of Serena Mendoza and St Juan, the two last in the province of Cujo; in which province he had likewise the grant of a considerable commandery of Indians, which he afterwards ceded to the crown.

Receiving additional reinforcements from Peru, Valdivia resumed his march for the south of Chili, still followed but at a considerable distance by Lincoyan, who pretended continually to seek a favourable opportunity to attack the Spaniards, but whose timid and cautious procedure could never find one of which he dared to avail himself. In this manner Valdivia traversed the whole territory of the Araucanians from north to south, with exceedingly little opposition and hardly any loss. But on his arrival at the river Callacalla, which separates the Araucanians from the *Cunches*, he found that nation in arms on the opposite bank of the river, ready to dispute the passage. The Cunches are one of the most valiant of the tribes inhabiting Chili, and possess the maritime country from the river Callacalla, called Valdivia by the Spaniards, to the gulf of Chiloé. They are divided into several subordinate tribes or clans, each of which, as in the other parts of Chili, are governed by their respective *ulmens*. They are in strict alliance with the Araucanians, and have ever continued bitter enemies to the Spaniards.

While Valdivia was deliberating upon the adoption of proper measures for crossing this river, a woman of the country, named *Recloma*, addressed the general of the Cunches with so much eloquence in behalf of the strangers, that he withdrew his army and allowed them to pass the river unmolested. Immediately after this unexpected event, the Spanish general founded a sixth city on the southern shore of the Callacalla, near its junction with the sea, giving it his own name of Valdivia; being the first of the conquerors in America who sought in this manner to perpetuate his name. This settlement, of which the fortress only now remains, attained in a few years a considerable degree of prosperity; owing to the

the superior fineness of the gold procured from its neighbouring mines, which obtained it the privilege of a mint, and because its harbour is one of the most convenient and secure of any on the shore of the Pacific Ocean. The river is here very broad, and so deep that ships of the line may be moored in safety within a few feet of the shore; and it has several other safe harbours and creeks in the vicinity.

Satisfied with the extent of the conquests he had made, or rather with the incursions he had been able to make in the Araucanian territory, Valdivia now retraced his steps towards the north; and in his progress during the year 1553, he built fortresses in each of the three Araucanian provinces of Puren Tucapel and Arauco. From the warlike inhabitants of these provinces especially, he apprehended any attempt that might prove fatal to his more southerly settlements of Imperial Villarica and Valdivia, and he left garrisons in these more northern fortresses to preserve the communication, and to be in readiness to afford succours to the others in the south. According to the poet Ercilla, the Spaniards had to sustain many battles and encounters with the natives in the course of this expedition in Araucania, but the particulars of none of these are recorded. This is however very probable; as it is not easy to account for the continuance of Lincoyan in the command on any other principles. It may be concluded, however, that, owing to the caution, or cowardice rather of the Araucanian toqui, these actions were so ill conducted and so inconclusive, as to give very little interruption to Valdivia in his triumphant progress through these provinces, between the Biobio and Callacalla, or from Conception to Valdivia.

On his return to St Jago, the seat of government, Valdivia received a considerable body of recruits to his army from Peru, together with 350 horses; on which he dispatched Francisco de Aguirre with two hundred men, to reduce the provinces of Tucuman and Cujo on the eastern side of the Andes; not considering how inadequate was even his whole undiminished military force to retain so large an extent of country as that he had now occupied, and a so numerous and warlike people under subjection. Indefatigable in the execution of his extensive plans of conquest, Valdivia returned into Araucania, where he founded in the province of Encol, a city to which he gave the name of La Frontera, being the seventh and last of his foundation. This name, from events which could not then have been in the consideration of Valdivia, has become

strictly

strictly applicable to its present situation, as its ruins are actually situated on the southern confines of the Spanish settlements in Chili. Though long ago destroyed, it is still mentioned by geographers as an existing city under the name of Angol, by which native denomination it was long known to the Spaniards. It was situated in a fertile district, excellently adapted for the cultivation of vines, and for some time was in a rich and flourishing condition, principally owing to its wines, which were in great repute at Buenos Ayres, to which place they were transported by a road across the Andes and through the plains of La Plata.

After making suitable regulations for the security of this new colony, Valdivia returned to his favourite city of Conception, where he instituted three principal military officers for commanding the royal army of Chili, consisting of a quarter-master-general, a serjeant-major, and a commissary. In the present times only two of these subsist, the quarter-master-general and the serjeant-major; which latter office is now divided into two, one for the cavalry, and the other for the infantry; while the office of commissary is only now known in the militia. At this time he sent Alderte into Spain, with a large sum of money, and a particular relation of his transactions and conquests; and commissioned him to employ his utmost exertions to obtain for him the perpetual government of the country which he had conquered, together with the title of Marquis of Arauco. He dispatched likewise Francisco de Ulloa by sea, with directions to explore the Straits of Magellan, by means of which he hoped to open a direct communication with Spain, without being obliged to depend upon Peru for supplies.

While occupied in the contemplation of these extensive plans for the amelioration of the extensive kingdom which he had subdued, and the advancement of his own rank and fortune, Valdivia had no suspicion of an extensive and determined system of warfare which was planning among the Araucanians, and which soon burst forth with irresistible violence, to the ultimate destruction of all the Spanish conquests beyond the Biobio, and to which Valdivia himself fell an early victim. *Colocolo*, an aged *Ulmen* of the province of Arauco, animated by love for his country, quitted the retirement in which he had long indulged, and traversed the provinces of the Araucanian confederacy, exciting with indefatigable zeal the dormant spirit of his countrymen, which had sunk after their

late

late disasters, and eagerly solicited them to make choice of a new supreme *toqui* capable of directing their arms for the recovery of those parts of their country which had been subjugated by the Spaniards, through the timid conduct of Lincoyan. Colocolo was well versed in the principles of government which subsisted among the Araucanians, and had long enjoyed the reputation of wisdom throughout the whole country, in which he was so universally esteemed and respected, that his councils and opinion were always solicited and listened to on every subject of importance. Roused from their torpidity by his animating exhortations, the whole body of Araucanian ulmens assembled according to their custom in a *Butacayog*, or national council, in an open plain; and, after the ususal feast, they proceeded to consult upon the situation of their national affairs, and the election of a new toqui to wipe off the disgraces which they had suffered under the direction of Lincoyan.

Many chiefs aspired to the glorious situation of avenger of their oppressed country, the most distinguished among whom were Andalican, Elicura, Ongolmo, Renco, and Tucapel. The last of these was so highly celebrated by his martial prowess that the province of which he was *Apo-ulmen* has ever since retained his name. He was besides supported in his pretensions by a powerful party; but his elevation to the supreme command was opposed by the more prudent members of the assembly, who dreaded lest the impetuosity of his character might hasten the entire ruin of the nation, instead of retrieving their honour and independence. Dissensions arose so high that the opposite parties were on the point of turning their arms against each other, when the venerable Colocolo rose to speak, and obtained a patient and attentive hearing. By a judicious and energetic address, he pacified their factious irritation so completely, that the assembly unanimously submitted the nomination of a supreme *toqui* to his choice. The wise old man, on whom every eye was now fixed in anxious expectation, immediately named Caupolican, the ulmen of Pilmaquen a subordinate district of the province of Tucapel, and the whole assembly applauded and confirmed the choice. Caupolican was of a lofty stature and uncommon bodily strength; and though he had lost an eye, the majesty of his countenance evinced great endowments of mind. He was of a serious, patient, and sagacious disposition; and besides great personal bravery, had every requisite

to

to constitute him an able general of the peculiar troops over whom he was now appointed to command. On being invested with the battle-axe, as the badge of his supreme authority, he immediately selected the officers who were to bear command under him in the army of the state, among whom were all the late competitors, and even Lincoyan the former *toqui*. The office of vice-toqui, or lieutenant-general, he conferred on Marientu, a person in whom he reposed entire confidence. Even the violent Tucapel, who had nearly involved his country in civil war for the attainment of the supreme command, did not disdain to serve under the orders of his own vassal, manifesting by this submission his eager wish to sacrifice his personal ambition to the service of his country.

As the Araucanians believed themselves invincible under the command of their new toqui, they were desirous of going immediately from the place of assembly to attack the Spaniards. But Caupolican, no less prudent in council than valiant in the field, repressed this rash ardour, and persuaded them to disperse to their several places of abode, to provide themselves with good arms in order to be in readiness at the first summons to the field, and to leave the direction of the war to his management. Shortly afterwards, he collected and reviewed his army [3], and resolved to commence his operations by a stratagem suggested by an accident. He had that morning taken eighty Indian prisoners, who were conducting forage to the Spanish garrison in the neighbouring fort of Arauco. In place of these men, he substituted an equal number of his own bravest soldiers, under the command of Cajuguenu and Alcatipay, whom he directed to conceal their arms among the bundles of grass, and to maintain possession of the gate of the fortress until he could come to their assistance with the rest of his army. The pretended foragers conducted themselves with so much judgment that they were admitted into the fortress without any suspicion on the part of the garrison, and immediately seizing their arms, they attacked the guard at the gate, killing all that came in their way. The alarm however soon spread, and the rest of the garrison hastened in arms to the spot, under Francisco Reynoso the commandant, and drove the

3 Ovalle carries the number of the Araucanian army on this occasion to the inconceivable amount of 67,000 combatants in the field, besides a large body of reserve.—E.

the Araucanians from the gate after an obstinate contest, at the very moment when Caupolican came up with his army, so that the Spaniards had just sufficient time to raise the draw-bridge and hasten to defend their ramparts. Though disappointed in his expectation of gaining admittance by the gate, Caupolican was still in hope of profiting from the confusion of the garrison, and encouraged his soldiers to assail the fortress on all sides, notwithstanding the continual fire kept up by the Spaniards from two cannon and six small field-pieces. After losing a great number of men in this unequal contest, Caupolican drew off from the assault, and determined to attempt the reduction of Arauco by a strict blockade, in hopes that the Spaniards would be soon constrained by famine into a surrender.

After the blockade had continued for some time, during which the Spaniards made several unsuccesful sallies with considerable loss, Reynoso determined to abandon the fort and to retire with his remaining garrison to Puren, as provisions began to fail, and there was no prospect of being relieved. Accordingly the whole garrison mounted their horses at midnight, and rushing suddenly from the gate, made their escape through the middle of their enemies. As the Araucanians supposed this to have been one of the ordinary sallies, they took no measures to obstruct their flight, and Reynoso got off with his men. Having destroyed the fort of Arauco, Caupolican led his army to attack that of Tucapel, which was commanded by Martin Erizar with a garrison of forty men. Erizar defended himself gallantly for several days; but as provisions began to fail, and his small force was continually diminishing by the perpetually renewed assaults of the enemy, he likewise determined upon withdrawing to Puren, which he successfully executed, either by similar means as those pursued by Reynoso, or in consequence of a capitulation with Caupolican. Having destroyed this fortress, Caupolican encamped with his army in the neighbourhood, to wait the approach of the Spaniards, who he supposed would not be long of coming against him with an army.

Valdivia, who then resided in the city of Conception, no sooner learnt that the Araucanians had besieged Arauco, than he began his march for that place with such forces as he was able to collect at a short notice; though contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, who urged him to wait till he could collect a more formidable army, and

seemed

seemed to have a presentiment of the fatal consequences which were to result from the present expedition. The historians of the times differ materially in their accounts of the force under Valdivia on this occasion. According to some of these his army consisted of two hundred Spaniards and five thousand Promaucian auxiliaries, while others reduce the number to a half. The same uncertainty is to be found respecting the number of the enemy, some estimating them at nine and others at ten thousand men [4]. On approaching the encampment of Caupolican, Valdivia sent forwards a detachment of ten horsemen under Diego del Oro to reconnoitre, all of whom were slain by the enemy, and their heads cut off and hung upon trees by the way in which the Spanish army had to advance. On arriving at this place, the Spaniards were filled with horror at this miserable spectacle, and many of them, in spite of their usual intrepidity, were eager to retreat till a greater force could be collected. Even Valdivia regretted that he had not conformed to the advice of his older officers; but encouraged by the boasting confidence of others, who proudly declared that ten Spaniards were sufficient to put the whole Araucanian army to flight, he continued his march and came in sight of the enemy on the 3d of December 1553. The prospect of the ruins of Tucapel and the well regulated array of the adverse army, with the insulting taunts of the enemy, who upbraided them as robbers and impostors, filled the minds of the Spaniards, hitherto accustomed to respect and submission from the Indians, with mingled sentiments of dread and indignation.

The two armies continued for some time to observe each other from a small distance. At length the vice-toqui Marientu, who commanded the right wing of the Araucanians, began the engagement by an attack against the left wing of the Spaniards. Bovadilla who commanded in that wing, moved forwards with a detachment to encounter Marientu; but was immediately surrounded, and he and all his men cut to pieces. The serjeant-major, who was dispatched by Valdivia to his succour with another detachment, experienced the same fate. In the mean time, Tucapel, the Apo-ulmen of Arauco, who commanded the left wing of the Araucanians, made

4 Ovalle does not mention the amount of the army under Valdivia on this occasion, but extends the force of the Araucanians to twenty thousand men.—E.

made a violent attack on the Spanish right wing with his accustomed impetuosity. The battle now became general, and the hostile armies joined in close fight from wing to wing. Animated by the commands and example of Valdivia, who performed at the same time the duty of a valiant soldier and experienced general, the Spaniards by the superiority of their arms overthrew and destroyed whole ranks of the enemy. But, notwithstanding the horrible slaughter produced by the cannon and musquetry of the enemy, the Araucanians continually supplied the places of those who were slain by fresh troops. Three times they retired in good order beyond the reach of the musquetry; and as often, resuming new courage, they returned vigorously to the charge, which they urged with the most determined and persevering valour. At length, after losing a vast number of their men, the Araucanians were thrown into disorder and began to give way; and in spite of every effort of Caupolican, Tucapel, and even of the aged and intrepid Colocolo, to reanimate their courage and rally their disordered ranks, they took to flight. The Spaniards shouted victory! and pressed ardently upon the fugitives, and the battle seemed decidedly won.

In this critical moment, a young Araucanian only sixteen years of age, named Lautaro, who had been made prisoner by Valdivia, and baptized and employed as his page, went over from the ranks of the victorious Spaniards, loudly reproached his countrymen for their opprobious cowardice, and eagerly exhorted them to return to the contest, assuring them, that the Spaniards, being all wounded and spent with fatigue, were no longer able to bear up against a fresh attack. Having succeeded in stopping the flight of a considerable number of the Araucanians, Lautaro grasped a lance which he turned against his late master, crying out, "Follow me my countrymen to certain victory." Ashamed at being surpassed in courage by a boy, the Araucanians turned with fury against their enemies, whose ranks were somewhat disordered by the pursuit, and put them completly to rout at the first shock, cutting the Spaniards and their allies to pieces, insomuch that only two Promaucians of the whole army had the good fortune to escape, by fleeing to a neighbouring wood, whence they withdrew during the night to Conception. When all hope was lost by the entire rout of his army. Valdivia withdrew from the massacre attended by his chaplain, to prepare himself for inevitable death by confession and absolution.

He

He was pursued and made prisoner by the victors; and on being brought before Caupolican, is said to have humbly implored mercy from the victorious toqui, and to have solicited the intercession of his former page, solemnly engaging to withdraw from Chili with all the Spaniards if his life were spared. Naturally of a compassionate disposition, and desirous of obliging Lautaro to whom he owed this important victory, and who now interceded for Valdivia, Caupolican was disposed to have shewn mercy to his vanquished foe; but, while deliberating on the subject, an old ulmen of great authority among the Araucanians, indignant at the idea of sparing the life of their most dangerous enemy, dispatched the prisoner with a blow of his war club, saying that it would be madness to trust the promises of an ambitious enemy, who would laugh at his oaths when once he escaped the present danger. Caupolican was much exasperated at this interference with his supreme authority, and was disposed to have punished it severely; but most of his officers opposed themselves to his just resentment [5].

Thus fell Pedro de Valdivia, the conqueror of Chili; a man of superior genius and of great political and military talents, but who, seduced by the romantic spirit of his age and country, had not sufficient prudence to employ them to the best advantage. His undertakings had been more fortunate, if he had properly estimated his own strength, and had less despised the courage and skill of the Araucanians, presuming on the dastardly example of the Peruvians, and the want of concert in the more northern tribes of Chili, against whom he had hitherto been accustomed to contend. Historians do not impute to him any of those cruelties with which the contemporary conquerors of America have been accused. It is true that, in the records of the Franciscans, two monks of that order are mentioned with applause, as having dissuaded him from exercising those cruelties which had been usual with other conquerors upon the natives of America. By some he has been

5 According to Ovalle, Caupolican was forced by his officers to pronounce condemnation against Valdivia, which was executed immediately, but different accounts were given of the manner in which this was performed: some saying that it was done in the way related in the text, while others allege that they poured melted gold down his throat; that they preserved his head as a monument of victory, to animate their youth to a valorous defence of their country, and that they converted the bones of his legs and arms into flutes and trumpets.—E.

been accused of avarice, and they pretend that the Araucanians put him to death by pouring melted gold down his throat, in punishment of his inordinate search for that metal: But this is a mere fiction, copied from a similar story in ancient authors.

Garcilasso de la Vega, Part I. Book vii. Chap. xxi. gives the following account of the battle in which Valdivia was defeated by the Araucanians.

" In many skirmishes Valdivia always defeated the Araucanians and put them to flight, as they were in such dread of the Spanish horse that they never dared to adventure into the open plains, where ten Spaniards were able to beat a thousand Indians, for which reason they always kept lurking in the woods and mountains, where the Spanish cavalry could not get at them; whence they often sallied out, doing all the injury they were able against the Spaniards. The war continued in this manner for a long time; till at length an old captain of the Araucanians, who had been long famous in their wars, began to consider the reason why so small a number as only 150 Spaniards should be able to subdue and enslave twelve or thirteen thousand Araucanian warriors. After mature deliberation, he divided the Araucanian force into thirteen battalions each of a thousand men, which he drew up in successive lines at some distance, so as to act as a series of reserves one after the other, and marched in this new order of battle against the Spaniards one morning at day-break, ordering them to give louder shouts than usual, and to make a great noise with their drums and trumpets. Alarmed by the noise and shouts of the Indians, the Spaniards sallied forth to battle, and seeing the many divisions of the enemy, they imagined it would be much easier to break through and defeat these smaller battalions than if united in one body.

" So soon as the Araucanian captain saw the Spaniards advancing, he exhorted the foremost battalion of his army to do their best;" not, said he, that I expect you to overcome them; but you must do your utmost in defence of your country, and when you are worsted, then betake yourselves to flight, taking care not to break into and disorder the other battalions; and when you get into the rear of all, you must there rally and renew your ranks. He gave similar orders to all the successive battalions, and appointed another officer to remain in the rear to restore the order of those who should

 retreat,

retreat, and to make them eat and refresh themselves while the others continued the fight successively. Accordingly the foremost battalion fought for some time against the Spaniards, and when no longer able to withstand the impetuosity of their charge, they retired as ordered into the rear. The second, third, fourth, and fifth battalions did the same in succession, and were all successively defeated by the Spaniards, all retiring according to orders when their array was broken; yet in these reiterated combats the Spaniards sustained some loss both in men and horses. The Spaniards, having already defeated and put to flight five successive bodies of the enemy, and having fought three long hours, were astonished still to observe ten or twelve similar successive battalions before them in firm array, yet they gallantly attacked the sixth body which they likewise overthrew, and in like manner the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth. Having now fought seven hours without intermission, both the Spanish men and horses began to fail from long fatigue, and were unable to charge with the same vigour as in the beginning of the action, yet they exerted their utmost efforts not to shew any appearance of failure to the Indians. Yet the Indians could clearly perceive a material relaxation in the exertions of their enemies, to whom they did not allow a moment of repose, but plied them as at first with new and fresh battalions.

"At length, seeing there was likely to be no end of this new way of fighting, as there were still eight or nine battalions of the enemy in view, and it being now drawing towards evening, Valdivia determined upon making a retreat before his men and horses should be entirely worn out and disabled by incessant action. He accordingly gave orders to his men to retreat, that they might reach a narrow pass about a league and a half from the field of battle, where they would be secure against attack, as in that place two Spaniards on foot were able to keep off the whole army of the Araucanians. He accordingly issued orders to his soldiers to retreat to that narrow defile, passing the word from rank to rank, with directions to turn and make head occasionally against the enemy. At this time Valdivia was attended by an Araucanian youth named *Lautaro*, the son of an ulmen, who had been bred up in his family from a boy, and baptized by the name of Philip. Knowing both languages, and being more biassed by affection to his country than love to God or fidelity to his master, on hearing the orders given to retreat, he called out to the

Araucanians

Araucanians not to be satisfied with the retreat of the Spaniards, but immediately to take possession of the narrow pass, by which they would ensure the entire destruction of their enemies. To encourage his countrymen by his example as well as his words, Lautaro took up a lance from the ground, with which he joined the foremost rank of the Araucanians, and assisted them to fight against his former master.

"When the Araucanian captain observed the Spaniards preparing to retire, he immediately followed the advice of Lautaro, and ordered two fresh battalions of his troops to hasten in good order to occupy the narrow pass, and to use their utmost efforts to defend it till the rest of the army could get up to their assistance. With the remainder of his troops he pressed on against the retreating Spaniards, still plying them as from the first with fresh bodies of his men, and not allowing a moments respite to the enemy. On coming to the entrance of the narrow pass, where they expected to have been in safety, the Spaniards found it already occupied by the enemy, and began to despair of being able to escape. At this time, perceiving that both the Spanish men and horses were completely tired, the Araucanians broke in among them, fifteen or twenty of them seizing upon one horse, some catching him by the legs, others by the tail, and others by the mane; while others knocked down both men and horses with their great war-clubs, killing them with the greatest rage and fury.

"Pedro de Valdivia, and a priest who accompanied him, were taken alive and tied to trees, until the Indians had dispatched all the rest, only three Indian auxiliaries of the Spaniards making their escape by favour of the night into a thicket, whence, being well acquainted with the ways and more faithful to their masters than Lautaro, they carried the fatal news to the Spaniards in Chili. The manner in which Valdivia was afterwards put to death has been differently related. Some say that Lautaro, finding him tied to a tree, killed him after reviling and reproaching him as a robber and a tyrant. The most certain intelligence is, that an old captain beat out his brains with a club. Others again say that the Araucanians passed the night after their victory in dances and mirth; and that at the end of every dance, they cut off a piece of flesh from Valdivia and another from the priest, both yet alive, which they broiled and eat before their faces.

During

During which horrid repast, Valdivia confessed to the priest and they both expired."

SECTION VII.

Continuation of the War between the Spaniards and Araucanians, from the death of Valdivia, to that of Caupolican.

THIS important victory, which was gained in the evening of the 3d December 1553, was celebrated next day by the Araucanians with all kinds of games and diversions, which were exhibited in a meadow surrounded by high trees, on which the heads of the slaughtered enemies were suspended as trophies of the victory. An immense concourse of inhabitants from all the surrounding country flocked to Tucapel to enjoy the triumph obtained over an enemy hitherto considered as invincible, and to join in the festivities on this joyful occasion. In token of triumph, the Araucanian officers dressed themselves in the clothes and armour of their slain enemies, and Caupolican decorated himself with the armour and surcoat of Valdivia, which was magnificently embroidered with gold. After the conclusion of the rejoicings, Caupolican presented Lautaro to the national assembly or Butacayog, which had met to deliberate upon the proper measures to be pursued in farther prosecution of the war; and, after a speech in which he attributed the whole success of the late glorious battle to the young warrior, he appointed him extraordinary vice-toqui, and to enjoy the command of a second army which was to be raised for protecting the frontiers against invasion from the Spaniards. In consideration of the inappreciable service he had rendered to his country, the advancement of Lautaro to this new dignity was approved and applauded by all the chiefs of the confederacy. Besides the nobility of his origin, as he belonged to the order of ulmens, Lautaro was singularly beautiful in his appearance, and conciliating in his manners, and possessed talents far surpassing his years, so that in the sequel he fully confirmed the sentiments now entertained of him by Caupolican and the rest of his countrymen.

The sentiments of the assembled chiefs in respect to the farther prosecution of the war, were various and discordant. Colocolo and most of the Ulmens were of opinion, that they

ought in the first place to endeavour to free their country from the remaining Spanish establishments within its bounds, before attempting to carry their incursions to the north of the Biobio. Tucapel and some others of the most daring officers, insisted that they ought to take advantage of the present circumstances to attack the Spaniards even in the city of St Jago, the centre of their colonies, while in a state of consternation and dismay, and to drive them entirely from the whole kingdom of Chili. Caupolican applauded the heroic sentiments of Tucapel, yet adopted the council of the elder chiefs, as the most prudent and beneficial for the interests of the nation.

About this time Lincoyan, the former toqui, who was at the head of a detached body of troops engaged in harassing the dispersed settlements of the Spaniards in Araucania, fell in with a party of fifteen Spaniards, on their march from Imperial to join Valdivia, of whose total defeat they had not yet received intelligence. Before engaging with the enemy, whom they confidently expected to defeat with the utmost facility, these Spaniards vainly regretted that their number exceeded twelve, in hope that the event of the day would stamp upon their names the chivalrous title of *the twelve of fame*. Their wishes were soon more than gratified, as seven of them fell at the first encounter with the enemy, and the remaining seven, taking advantage of the swiftness of their horses, escaped severely wounded to the fortress of Puren, carrying with them the melancholy intelligence of the total destruction of Valdivia and his army. On this distressing news the Spanish inhabitants of Puren, and Frontera or Angol, retired to Imperial, where they considered themselves in greater security than in these other more inland fortresses, which were entirely surrounded by the country of the victorious enemy. About the same time the inhabitants of Villarica abandoned that settlement and took refuge in Valdivia; so that two Spanish establishments only now remained in the Araucanian country, and both of them at a great distance from reinforcements or assistance. As Caupolican determined upon besieging these two cities, he committed to Lautaro the charge of defending the northern frontier against invasion, and set out for the south to reduce the cities of Imperial and Valdivia.

The young and gallant vice-toqui, Lautaro, accordingly took post on the lofty mountain of Mariguenu, which intervenes

venes between Conception and Arauco, and which he fortified with extraordinary care, rightly judging that the Spaniards would take that road in search of Caupolican on purpose to revenge the defeat and death of their general Valdivia. This mountain, which has proved fatal to the Spaniards on several occasions in their wars with the Araucanians, has a large plain on its summit interspersed with shady trees. Its steep sides are full of rude precipices and deep clefts or ravines, its western end being rendered inaccessible by the sea, while on the east it is secured by an impenetrable forest. The north side only was accessible to the Spaniards, and even in that way it was only possible to reach the top by a narrow and winding path.

The two Promaucians who alone had escaped from the fatal battle of Tucapel, by favour of the darkness and under covert of a thick wood, reached Conception, which they filled with grief and consternation, by relating the total overthrow and massacre of the army of Valdivia. When the general terror and dismay had a little subsided, the magistrates proceeded to open the sealed instructions which had been left with them by Valdivia, when he departed on his late fatal expedition. In these he named Alderte, Aguirre, and Villagran successively to the vacant government in case of his own decease. Alderte being gone to Europe, and Aguirre absent on his expedition into the distant province of Cujo, the command devolved on Villagran. After such preparations as appeared necessary under the present emergency, Villagran crossed the Biobio with a considerable army of Spaniards and Promaucian auxiliaries, intending to march for Arauco in the first place. In a narrow pass at no great distance to the south of the Biobio, he was vigorously opposed by a body of Araucanian warriors, who withstood the utmost efforts of his army for three hours, and then withdrew continually fighting, towards the top of the mountain where Lautaro awaited the approach of the Spaniards with the main body of his army, in a well chosen post defended by a strong palisade. Villagran ordered the squadrons of cavalry to force their way up the difficult passage of the mountain, which they effected with infinite difficulty and severe fatigue, and were received at a short distance from the summit by showers of stones, arrows, and other missiles, which were incessantly discharged against them by the vigilant and brave Araucanians. Villagran, who followed his cavalry at the head of all the infantry of his

army, with six pieces of artillery, seeing the determined opposition of the enemy, several detachments of whom were endeavouring to gain his flanks and rear, ordered his musquetry to advance, and the artillery to take a favourable position for annoying the enemy.

The mountain was enveloped in smoke, and resounded on all sides with the thunder of the Spanish cannon and musquets, while the balls were heard whistling in every direction, and dealing destruction among the ranks of the valiant Araucanians, who continued vigorously to defend their post, undismayed at the numbers who fell amid their thick array. Perceiving that his principal loss was occasioned by the cannon, Lautaro gave orders to one of his bravest officers, named Leucoton, to sally from the camp with a select detachment of troops, and to gain possession of the cannon at all events, or never more to appear in his presence. Leucoton executed his orders with the utmost bravery, and after a furious and bloody contest with the guard of the guns, carried them off in triumph; while Lautaro, to prevent the Spaniards from sending succours to their artillery, made a furious general attack on the whole line with all his troops. Astonished by this bold and general attack, and dismayed by the loss of their cannon, the Spanish horse and foot fell into confusion and disorder, and were so furiously pressed upon by the valiant Lautaro and his troops, that they dispersed and fled with the utmost precipitation. Three thousand of the Spaniards and their Promaucian allies were slain in this decisive battle. Villagran himself, having fallen in the retreat, was on the point of being taken prisoner, when he was rescued by the almost incredible efforts of three of his soldiers, and remounted on his horse. The remaining Spaniards urged on their almost exhausted horses to regain the narrow defile where the engagement had commenced, and were closely pursued by the Araucanians; but on arriving at the pass, they found it blocked up with trees, which had been felled across by orders of Lautaro. The engagement was renewed at this place with the utmost fury, and not a man of the broken army would have escaped, had not Villagran opened the pass at the utmost hazard of his life. Though the Araucanians had lost above seven hundred men in the course of this eventful battle, they continued the pursuit a long way; but at length, unable to keep up with the horses, and exhausted with excessive fatigue, they gave up the pursuit, and Lautaro encamped for the night

night to refresh his men, determined upon passing the Biobio next day to follow up the consequences of his glorious and decisive victory.

On the arrival of the few Spaniards at Conception who had been able to escape from the slaughter at Mariguenu, the city of Conception was filled with indescribable grief and dismay, not a family but had to deplore the loss of some near relation; and the alarm was greatly increased by learning that Lautaro was fast approaching with his victorious army. As Villagran considered it to be impossible to defend the city under the present dismay of his small remaining force, he hastily embarked all the old men, women, and children on board two ships that happened to be then in the harbour, one of which he ordered to proceed to Imperial, and the other to Valparaiso, while he proceeded by land for St Jago with all the rest of the inhabitants who were able to carry arms. Lautaro entered the city next day without opposition, which he found entirely deserted of its inhabitants, but filled with much valuable booty, as by its mines and commerce it had already attained considerable opulence, and the inhabitants were in such haste to escape with their lives, that they only took what provisions they could procure along with them, and abandoned their riches. After removing every thing that was valuable, Lautaro burnt all the houses, and razed the citadel and other fortifications; after which he returned with his army to Arauco, to celebrate his triumph after the manner usual in his country.

While Lautaro thus bravely asserted the independence of his country on the frontiers, Caupolican marched into the south, as has been already mentioned, to invest the cities of Imperial and Valdivia, both of which he held closely blockaded. In this emergency, the governors of these two cities demanded succours from Villagran; who, notwithstanding his late terrible defeat, sent a sufficient number of troops for their defence with all possible speed; and both places being accessible by sea, these succours were able to arrive in time to prevent Caupolican from gaining possession of either.

"When the army of Caupolican drew near to the city of Imperial, the air was suddenly enveloped in black clouds, whence arose a mighty storm of hail and rain. In the midst of the tempest, the *epumanon* or war god of the Araucanians, made his appearance in form of a terrible dragon, casting out fire at his mouth and nostrils, and desired them to

hasten

hasten their march as he would deliver the city into their hands, on which occasion he enjoined them to put all the Christians to the sword. The *epumanon* then disappeared, and they pursued their way joyfully, being animated by this oracle. On a sudden the heavens cleared up, and a most beautiful woman was seen, seated on a bright cloud, and having a charming yet severe and majestic countenance, which much abated the pride and haughtiness inspired by the former vision. This was the *queen of heaven*, who commanded them to return to their own homes, for God was resolved to favour the Christians; and they immediately obeyed[1]."

On abandoning the sieges of Imperial and Valdivia, Caupolican went to join Lautaro at Conception, in order to attempt some enterprise against the Spaniards more practicable than the attack of fortifications, for the assault of which the Araucanians possessed no sufficient arts or arms. Availing himself of the absence of his redoubted enemy; Villagran, who appears to have gone along with the succours to Imperial, ravaged the whole Araucanian territory around that city, burning and destroying the houses and crops, and carrying off all the provisions that were not destroyed to the town. Though of a humane and generous disposition, averse from the exercise of violence, Villagran endeavoured to vindicate the employment of these rigorous measures by the necessity of circumstances, and the pretended rights of war: But on this occasion they were of no real service to the Spanish cause, which they contributed to render more odious to the Araucanians; and in general the only effect which such barbarous conduct produces, is to heap distress on the weak and helpless. To the other terrible calamities inseparable from war, especially when carried on in this barbarous manner, a pestilential disease was superadded which committed dreadful ravages in Chili, especially among the natives. During the incursions of Villagran into the Araucanian territory, some Spanish soldiers, who were either infected at the time or had recently recovered from the small pox, communicated

1 This paragraph, within inverted commas, is literally copied from Ovalle, as an instance of the puerile conceits indulged in by the true Catholic writers of the seventeenth century. The brave and faithful Bernal Diaz at the beginning of the sixteenth century saw no miracles during the conquest of Mexico, and the judicious Molina at the close of the eighteenth, modestly refrains from copying any such incredible absurdities into his history of Chili.—E.

municated that fatal disease for the first time to the Araucanians, among whom it spread with the more direful and rapid destruction, as they were utterly unacquainted with its nature. So universal and dreadful was the mortality on this occasion in several provinces, that, in one district containing a population of twelve thousand persons, not more than a hundred escaped with life. This pestilential disorder, which has been more destructive than any other to the human race, had been introduced a few years before into the northern parts of Chili, where it then occasioned great mortality among the natives, and where it has since frequently reappeared at uncertain intervals, and has greatly diminished the aboriginal population. For more than a century, counting from the present times, 1787, the southern provinces of Chili forming the Araucanian confederacy, have been exempted from the ravages of this cruel disease, in consequence of the most rigorous precautions being employed by the inhabitants to prevent all communication with the infected countries, similar to those used in Europe to prevent the introduction of the plague.

"The following anecdote will shew what horror the small-pox has inspired into the natives of Araucania. Some considerable time ago[2], the viceroy of Peru sent as a present to the governor of Chili, several jars of honey, wine, olives, and different seeds. One of these jars happened to break while landing, and some Indians who were employed as labourers on this occasion, imagined that the contents of the jar were the purulent matter of the small-pox, imported by the governor for the purpose of being disseminated among the Araucanian provinces, to exterminate their inhabitants. They immediately gave notice to their countrymen, who stopped all intercourse with the Spanish provinces and flew to arms, killing above forty Spaniards who were then among them in the full security of peace. To revenge this outrage, the governor marched with an army into the Araucanian territory, and a new war was excited which continued for some time to the great injury of both nations."

While Villagran was using every possible exertion to maintain

2 The passage within commas is a note in the original English publication of Molina; and from subsequent parts of the history, the event here related appears to have occurred about the commencement of the seventeenth century, or more than two hundred years ago.—E.

tain the Spanish power in the south of Chili, by combating the brave and victorious Araucanians, he found himself on the point of being compelled to turn his arms against his own countrymen. It has been already mentioned that Valdivia, in the instructions he left with the magistrates of Conception before his fatal expedition into Araucania, had nominated Francisco Aguirre in the second place as his own successor in the government, and that Villagran, only third in nomination, had succeeded to the command in consequence of the absence of the other two who were prior to himself. When Aguirre, who was then in Cujo, where he does not appear to have effected any thing of importance, was informed of the death of Valdivia, and his own destination to the government of Chili, he considered the assumption of the vacant command by Villagran as prejudicial to his own just rights, and immediately returned into Chili with sixty men who remained of his detachment, determined to acquire possession of the government by force or favour. His pretensions and those of Villagran must infallibly have kindled a civil war among the Spaniards in Chili, to the ruin or vast detriment of the Spanish interest, had not the competitors agreed to submit the decision of their respective claims to the royal audience at Lima, which at that time, 1555, held the supreme legal jurisdiction over all the Spanish dominions in South America. On this appeal, the court of audience thought proper to set aside the pretensions of both competitors, and issued an edict authorizing the corregidors of the different cities to command each in their respective districts, till farther orders. Perceiving the extreme inconvenience that must have necessarily resulted to the interests of the colony, from this divided government, especially during so important a war, the principal inhabitants remonstrated against the impolicy of this decree. The royal audience listened to the representations of the colonists, and appointed Villagran to resume the command, but only granted him the title of corregidor, and gave him orders to rebuild the city of Conception. Although convinced of the inutility of this measure in the present conjuncture, Villagran, in obedience to the orders, proceeded immediately to that place with eighty-five families, whom he established there, and erected a strong fortification for their defence.

The native inhabitants of that part of the country which formed the territory of Conception, were indignant at being again subjected to the intolerable yoke of the Spaniards, and had

had recourse to the Araucanians for protection. Caupolican, who seems at this time to have remained in almost entire inaction, either ignorant of the proceedings of the Spaniards, or from some other cause of which we are not informed, immediately sent Lautaro at the head of two thousand warriors to the assistance of the distressed natives on the north side of the Biobio. The young vice-toqui, exasperated at what he called the obstinacy of the Spaniards in rebuilding the city which he had destroyed, immediately passed the Biobio, and the Spaniards imprudently awaited him in the open plain, confiding in their own valour and arms, despising the superior numbers of the barbarians. The Spaniards, however, were panic struck at the furious energy of the first encounter, and fled with precipitation to take shelter behind their ramparts; but were so closely pursued by Lautaro and his valiant followers, that they were unable to close the gate. The Araucanians entered the city along with the fugitives, many of whom were slain; and the small remnant made a precipitate retreat, part of them by embarking in a ship then in the port, and others by taking refuge in the woods, whence they returned through bye-paths to St Jago.

Lautaro immediately plundered and burnt the city, and returned loaded with spoils to his usual station on the mountain of Mariguenu. The successful issue of this enterprise excited Caupolican to resume the sieges or blockades of Imperial and Valdivia, during which Lautaro undertook to make a diversion of the Spanish forces, by marching against St Jago, by which he expected to prevent them from sending reinforcements into the south, and he even conceived that it might be possible to gain possession of that capital of the Spanish dominions in Chili, notwithstanding its great distance; as the successes he had already obtained so filled his mind with confidence that no difficulty appeared too great to be overcome. In order to execute this hazardous enterprise, which appears to have been concerted with Caupolican, he only required five hundred men to be selected by himself from the Araucanian army; but so many pressed to serve under his victorious standard, that he was obliged to admit an additional hundred. With this determined band of six hundred warriors, he traversed all the provinces between the rivers Biobio and Maulé, without doing any injury to the natives, who hailed him as their deliverer from the Spanish tyranny. But on crossing the latter river, he immediately proceeded to

lay

lay waste the lands of the Promaucians, who were detested by the Araucanians for acting as auxiliaries to the Spaniards. Had he treated them with kindness, he might in all probability have detached them from the Spanish interest and united them in alliance with his own nation. But impelled by eagerness for revenge, he did not appreciate the good effects which might have flowed from a reconciliation with that numerous and warlike nation, whom he considered as traitors to the common cause. Having satiated his revenge, he fortified himself in an advantageous post in their territory on the banks of the Rio-claro, probably on purpose to gain more correct information respecting the state of the city he intended to attack.

This ill-judged delay was of great importance to the inhabitants of St Jago, by giving them time to prepare for their defence. They could not at first believe it possible that Lautaro would have the audacity to undertake a march of three hundred miles beyond the Araucanian frontiers to attack their city; but undeceived by the refugees from Conception, and the daily reports of the ravages of the enemy in the territories of the Promaucians, they dispatched Juan Godinez with an escort of twenty-five horse into the Promaucian country to watch the motions of the enemy, and to send intelligence of his proceedings and designs. Godinez was unexpectedly attacked by a detachment of the Araucanians, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat to St Jago, with his numbers considerably diminished, and filled the capital with consternation and dismay at the intelligence of the near approach of their redoubted enemy. On this occasion the Araucanians took ten horses and some arms from the Spaniards, both of which were used by them in the succeeding actions.

Villagran, who was at this time unable to take the field in consequence of illness, sent his son Pedro against Lautaro with such troops as could be procured, and immediately proceeded to fortify all the approaches to the city of St Jago with strong entrenchments. In the mean time, young Villagran attacked the Araucanians in their fortified post. Instructed by their intrepid yet wary commander, the Araucanians pretended to take flight after a short resistance; but the Spaniards were no sooner entered into the abandoned inclosure, than they returned upon them with such impetuosity, that Pedro and his men were completely routed, and only the cavalry was able to escape by flight, all the infantry who had penetrated

trated the Araucanian camp being put to death. After procuring reinforcements, young Villagran returned three several times to attack the camp of Lautaro, in all of which attempts he was repulsed with considerable loss. He now encamped his force in a low meadow on the banks of the river Mataquito, at no great distance from the entrenched post of Lautaro. The Araucanian general formed a plan for inundating the camp of the Spaniards during night, by turning upon them a branch of the river; but the Spaniards being informed of this design by a spy, withdrew to St Jago.

Having recovered from his illness, Villagran was solicited by the citizens of St Jago to exert himself to dislodge the Araucanians from their neighbourhood, as they every moment expected to see them at their gates. He accordingly, some time in the year 1556, set out from the city at the head of 196 Spaniards and 1000 Indian auxiliaries, in search of Lautaro. Instructed by his severe defeat at Mariguenu, Villagran resolved to attack the enemy by surprise; and quitting the direct road, he secretly directed his march towards the Araucanian encampment in the night by a private path under the guidance of a spy, and reached their entrenchments undiscovered at day-break. Lautaro, who had been on guard all night according to his usual custom, had just retired to rest when the alarm was given of the attack from the Spaniards. He hastened immediately to the spot, to observe the enemy and to issue his orders for defence; but at the moment of his arrival, a dart from the hand of one of the Indian auxiliaries pierced him to the heart. Encouraged by this fortunate event, which was soon known to the Spaniards, Villagran urged the assault of the entrenchments, and soon forced an entrance in spite of the Araucanians, who made an obstinate defence. Finding their post carried, the Araucanians retired to an angle of their works, determined rather to allow themselves to be cut in pieces than to surrender. In vain the Spanish commander repeatedly offered quarter; they continued fighting with the utmost obstinacy till every man of them was cut off, many of them even throwing themselves on the lances of the Spaniards, as if courting death in preference to submission. This victory, which was not obtained without considerable loss on the part of the Spaniards and their allies, was celebrated in St Jago and the other Spanish settlements with every demonstration of joy. The Spaniards felicitated themselves on being freed from a redoubted

doubted enemy, who at the early age of nineteen had already obtained so many victories over them, and who threatened to destroy their settlements in Chili, and even to harass them in Peru.

When the terror which this young hero had inspired was removed by his death, even his enemies extolled his valour and military talents, and compared him to the greatest generals who had figured in ancient times, calling him the Chilese Hannibal. To use the words of the abbe Olivarez:—" It is not just to depreciate the merit of one, who, had he been of our nation, we should have vaunted as a hero. If we celebrate the martial prowess of the Spanish Viriatus, we ought not to obscure the fame of the American Lautaro, as both valorously contended in arms for the liberties of their country."

For a long time the Araucanians lamented the untimely fate of the valiant Lautaro, to whom they owed all the success which their arms had hitherto atchieved, and on whose conduct and bravery they entirely relied for the preservation of their independence. His name is still celebrated in their heroic songs, and his actions are still proposed as the most glorious model for the imitation of their youth. Above all others, Caupolican felt and lamented the loss of his valiant associate. Far from thinking he had got free from a rival of his fame, he considered that he had lost his chief coadjutor in the glorious cause of restoring their nation to independence. Immediately on receiving the mournful intelligence, he quitted the siege of Imperial, though reduced to the last extremity, and returned with his army to defend the northern frontiers of Araucania, and to protect his country from the incursions of the Spaniards, as he learnt by his spies that they soon expected a large reinforcement of men and warlike stores from Peru under a new commander.

On learning the death of Valdivia, as formerly related, Philip II. gave charge of the government and conquest of Chili to Alderete, the agent who had been sent by Valdivia into Spain, and furnished him for this purpose with six hundred regular troops. During the voyage to the Tierra Firma, the ship was set on fire by accident, by his sister who was accustomed to read in bed; and of the whole number on board, Alderete and three soldiers alone escaped to Porto Bello. Overcome with grief and disappointment at this melancholy catastrophe, Alderete died soon after in the small island of Taboga in the gulf of Panama. When informed of this disaster,

aster, and of the threatening aspect of affairs in Chili in consequence of the untoward events in the Araucanian war, the marquis of Canete, then viceroy of Peru, appointed his son Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, to the vacant government. As this charge had become both important and dangerous, the marquis resolved that his son should be accompanied by such a body of forces as might be able to support his authority, and might enable him successfully to terminate the war against the Araucanians. As the civil dissensions in Peru were now at an end, and that country abounded in military adventurers eager for employment, he was soon able to levy a respectable force of horse and foot for this expedition. The infantry, all well equipped and appointed, with a great quantity of military stores, embarked in ten ships under the command of Don Garcia in person; and the cavalry marched by land under the orders of Garcia Ramon, who was appointed quarter-master-general of Chili.

Don Garcia arrived with his fleet in safety in the Bay of Conception, in the month of April 1557, and came to anchor near the island of Quiriquina, which was chosen as the head quarters as a place of great security. The scanty population of the island attempted to oppose the disembarkation of the troops, but being soon dispersed by the artillery, they retired in their piraguas to the continent. A small number being made prisoners, the governor sent two or three of them with a message to the Araucanians, to inform them of his arrival, and that he was desirous to settle a lasting peace with them on fair terms. In an assembly of the Ulmens to deliberate upon this message, the general opinion was that no propositions ought to be listened to from an enemy who had returned in greater force than ever, under the idea that any terms they might propose would necessarily be treacherous and unfair. Old Colocolo observed, however, that no injury could arise from listening to the proposals of the Spanish governor; and that they even had now a favourable opportunity for obtaining a knowledge of the amount of his force, and for discovering his designs. For this purpose, therefore, he thought it advisable that they should send an intelligent person, under pretence of congratulating the new governor on his arrival, and thanking him for his offer of amicable terms of peace, who might at the same time gain information of whatever he should consider important to regulate their future conduct. Caupolican and most of the older officers adopted this judicious

cious proposal, and the important commission was confided to Millalauco, a person who possessed every requisite for the business confided to his charge.

Millalauco accordingly crossed the narrow strait which separates the island of Quiriquina from the continent, and presented himself to the Spaniards with all the pride which characterises the Araucanian nation. In their turn, the Spaniards were willing to give him a high idea of their military power, and drew out their troops in order of battle for his reception, conducting him to the tent of the governor amidst repeated discharges of their artillery. Not in the least disconcerted by this military parade, Millalauco complimented the governor in the name of Caupolican and the Araucanian chiefs, declaring that they would all be happy in the establishment of an honourable peace, advantageous to both nations, in their desire for which they were solely actuated by motives of humanity, and not by any dread of the Spanish power. Don Garcia, though much disappointed by these vague offers, replied in the same general terms respecting peace; and, after regaling the ambassador in a magnificent manner, he ordered some of his officers to conduct him over the whole encampment, in expectation of intimidating him by displaying the immense military preparations which accompanied him to Chili. This was exactly suited to the wishes of Millalauco, who observed every thing with the utmost attention, though with apparent indifference; and, having taken leave of the Spaniards, he returned to make his report to the assembled chiefs. On receiving an exact report of all that had been seen by their envoy, the Araucanian chiefs gave orders for the establishment of centinels along the coast of their country, to observe and communicate notice of the movements of the Spaniards, and commanded the warriors to prepare for taking the field at the first summons, as they believed a renewal of the war was near and inevitable.

Don Garcia continued inactive almost the whole of the winter in the island of Quiriquina, waiting the arrival of his cavalry from Peru, and for reinforcements which he had required from the cities of Chili. At length, on the night of the 6th August 1557 he privately landed 130 men and several engineers on the plain of Conception, and immediately took possession of Mount Pinto which commands the harbour, where he constructed a fort well garnished with cannon, and surrounded by a deep ditch. This event was immediately

 communicated

communicated to Caupolican, who hastily collected his forces, and passed the Biobio on the 9th of August, and next morning at day-break, a day remarkable in Europe by the defeat of the French at St Quintin, he assailed the new fortress on three sides at once, having sent on in front a body of pioneers to fill up the ditch with fascines and trunks of trees. The assault was long urged with all the furious and obstinate bravery which distinguishes the Araucanians. Numbers mounted the parapet, and some even leapt within the walls, destroying many of the defendants. But the cannon and musquetry of the Spaniards were so skilfully directed, and the slaughter of the assailants so prodigious, that the ditch was filled with dead bodies, serving as bridges for the new combatants who pressed on to replace their slain comrades. Tucapel, impelled by his rash and unparalleled valour, threw himself into the fort, where he slew four of the enemy with his formidable mace, and then made his escape by leaping from a precipice amidst a shower of balls.

While the assault of the fortress was pushed with the utmost fury and was seen from the island of Quiriquina, the remainder of the Spanish army came over to the aid of the garrison, and formed in order of battle. The debarkation was observed by Caupolican, who immediately sent a part of his troops to meet this new enemy. After a severe conflict of several hours, this detachment was driven back to the mountain with heavy loss, so that the Araucanians were now placed between two fires; yet they did not lose courage, and continued fighting till mid-day. At length, worn out with the length of the combat, the Araucanian general drew off to the Biobio, determined to collect a new army and to return to the attack. Having in a short time reinforced his army, Caupolican began his march towards Conception; but, learning on his way that the governor had received a numerous reinforcement, he halted on the banks of the Biobio, deeply chagrined at not being able to effect the destruction of the new fortress of Conception, which had been twice performed by Lautaro with the universal applause of the nation.

In fact, on the preceding day the Spanish cavalry from Peru, consisting of 1000 well armed men, had arrived at Conception, together with another squadron of Spanish horse from Imperial, and 2000 Promaucian auxiliaries. Being now at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, Don Garcia determined to invade the Araucanian territory. For this

this purpose he crossed the Biobio in boats, six miles above its mouth, where the river is about 1500 paces broad. As the Spanish cannon in the boats commanded the opposite bank of the river, Caupolican made no attempt to obstruct the passage, but drew up his army at no great distance in a position flanked by thick woods, by which his retreat would be secured in case of being defeated. The battle began by several skirmishes, which ended in favour of the Araucanians; several advanced parties of the Spaniards being repulsed by the enemy with loss, though reinforced by order of Ramon the quarter master-general. Alonzo Reynoso likewise, who was dispatched to their aid with fifty horse, was defeated in his turn, and obliged to retreat leaving several of his men dead on the field. At length the two armies met and joined battle. Encouraged by the advantages they had already gained, the Araucanians used every effort to come to close quarters with the Spaniards, notwithstanding the heavy fire of eight pieces of artillery which played incessantly from the front of the enemy. But when they came within reach of the musquetry, they were quite unable to resist the close and well directed fire continually kept up by the veteran troops of Peru. After many ineffectual attempts to close in with the Spaniards, and losing a vast number of their bravest warriors, they fell into confusion from the vacancies in their ranks, and began to give ground. By a well timed charge, the cavalry put them completely to the rout, and made a prodigious slaughter among them in their flight to the woods.

Either from innate cruelty of disposition, or on mistaken principles of policy, Don Garcia pursued the most rigorous measures against the enemy. Contrary to the opinion and advice of most of his officers, he was the first who introduced the barbarous practice of mutilating and putting to death the prisoners; a system which may intimidate and restrain a base people accustomed to servitude, but cruelty is detestable in the estimation of a generous nation, and serves only to exasperate and render them irreconcileable [3]. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion was one named Galvarino, whose hands were cut off by order of Don Garcia, and was then set free. He returned to his countrymen, to whom he displayed his

3 In a note of the original translation, it is said that "the Indian allies of the Spaniards cut off the calves from the Araucanian prisoners, which they roasted and eat. And, by means of certain leaves applied to the wounds, prevented the effusion of a single drop of blood."—E.

his bloody and mutilated stumps, which so inflamed them with rage against the Spaniards, that they all swore never to make peace with them, and even denounced the punishment of death against any one who should have the baseness to propose such a measure. Even the women, excited by desire of revenge, offered to take up arms and fight along with their husbands, which was actually done by many of them in the subsequent battles. From thence originated the fable of Amazons in Chili, placed by some authors in the southern districts of that country.

After the victory, Don Garcia proceeded with his army into the province of Arauco, constantly harassed by flying detachments of the enemy, who never ceased doing them every possible injury. On his arrival at Melipuru[4], Don Garcia caused several native prisoners to be tortured, in order to obtain information of the situation of Caupolican, but none of them would discover the place of his retreat. On being informed of this barbarous procedure, Caupolican sent notice by a messenger that he was not far off, and meant to meet the Spaniards the next day. Don Garcia and his army, being alarmed by this intelligence, passed the whole night under arms, and accordingly the Araucanian army made its appearance next morning at day-break, advancing in regular array in three several lines. The Spanish cavalry made a furious charge upon the front line, commanded by Caupolican in person, who made his pikemen receive the charge with levelled spears, while the alternate mace-bearers were directed to strike at the horses heads. By this unexpected reception, the Spanish cavalry were obliged to retreat in confusion; upon which the Araucanian general and his division broke into the centre of the Spanish infantry with great slaughter, Caupolican killing five of them with his own hand. Tucapel advanced with his division in another quarter with equal success, and at the first attack broke his lance in the body of a Spaniard, and then drawing his sword slew seven others. He received several wounds at this time, yet seeing the valiant Rencu, formerly his rival for the office of toqui, surrounded by a crowd of enemies, he fell upon them with such fury that he killed a considerable number of them, and rescued Rencu from imminent danger. Victory, for a long time undecided, was

4 Called Millapoa, perhaps by mistake in Pinkerton's map of Chili, a place very near the southern shore of the Biobio, and marked *arruinada* probably meaning in ruins.—E.

was on the point of declaring for the Araucanians, as the Spaniards were ready to give way; when Don Garcia gave orders to a body of reserve, hitherto unengaged, to attack that division of the enemy which was commanded by Lincoyan and Ongolmo. This order, which was executed with promptitude and success, preserved the Spanish army from total destruction. This line or division of the Araucanians being broken and routed, fell back tumultuously upon the other two divisions, then nearly victorious, and threw them into such inextricable confusion, that being utterly unable to restore his troops to order, after repeated ineffectual efforts, Caupolican was reluctantly constrained to sound a retreat, and yielded the victory to his enemies which he had fondly imagined was already secured to himself. In their retreat, the Araucanian army would have been utterly cut to pieces, had not Rencu, by posting himself in a neighbouring wood with a party of warriors whom he rallied, called off the attention of the victors from the pursuit, which they urged with the most deadly rancour. After sustaining the violence of the Spanish assault till such time as he judged his dispersed countrymen had ensured their safety, Rencu and his companions retired through the wood by a secret path and rejoined his countrymen.

Before leaving Melipuru, Don Garcia caused twelve ulmens who were found among the prisoners, to be hanged on the trees that surrounded the field of battle, and Galvarino, now again a prisoner, was condemned to the same fate. That unfortunate youth, notwithstanding the loss of his hands, had accompanied the Araucanian army, and had never ceased during the late battle to excite his countrymen to fight valiantly, exhibiting his mutilated stumps to inspire them with fury and revenge, and even using his teeth to do all the injury he was able to the enemy. One of the captive ulmens, overcome with terror, abjectly petitioned for his life; but Galvarino reproached him in such severe terms for his cowardice, and inspired him with so great contempt for death, that he at length rejected a proffered pardon, and even entreated to die the first, as an expiation of his weakness, and the scandal he had brought upon the character of his nation. After this barbarous execution, by which he sullied the glory of his victory, Don Garcia proceeded into the province of Tucapel to the place where Valdivia had been defeated and slain, where he built, as if in contempt of the Araucanians, a city which

he

he named *Canete* [5] from the titular appellation of his family. Being in the centre of the enemies country, he strengthened this new city or fortress with a good palisade, a deep ditch, and strong rampart, mounted with a number of cannon, and left a select garrison for its defence under the command of Alonzo Reynoso.

Believing that the Araucanians, whom he had now defeated in three successive battles, were no longer in condition to oppose his victorious arms, he went with his army to Imperial, where he was received in triumph. Soon after his arrival at that place, he sent off a plentiful supply of provisions for the garrison of his new city under a strong escort, which was attacked and routed in a narrow pass called Cayucupil by a body of Araucanians, and had certainly been entirely destroyed if the enemy had not given them an opportunity of escaping to Canete with little loss, by eagerness to seize the baggage. The fugitives were received in Canete with much joy, as Reynoso had learnt that Caupolican intended to attack him. In fact, only a few days afterwards, that indefatigable general, whom misfortune seemed to inspire with fresh courage, made a furious assault upon the place, in which his valiant troops, with arms so extremely inferior to their enemies, endured a continual fire of cannon and musquetry for five hours with the most heroic firmness, pulling up and burning the palisades, filling the ditch, and endeavouring to scale the ramparts. But valour alone was unable to prevail in this difficult enterprise, and Caupolican was constrained to desist from the attempt by open force, and to try some more secure expedient for attaining his end. With this view he persuaded one of his officers, named *Pran*, who was of an artful character, to introduce himself into the garrison as a deserter, in order to fall upon some device for delivering it up. Pran accordingly obtained admission in that character, and conducted himself with the most profound dissimulation. He soon formed a strict friendship with a Promaucian named Andrew, in the service of the Spaniards, who seemed a fit instrument for his purpose. One day, either artfully to sound or flatter him, Andrew pretended to sympathize with his new friend on the misfortunes of his country; and Pran eagerly took advantage of this favourable opportunity, as he thought, to carry his designs

5 Probably the place distinguished in modern maps by the name of Tucapel-viejo, about 40 miles south from the Biobio.—E.

designs into execution, and revealed to Andrew the motive of his pretended desertion, earnestly entreating him to assist in the execution of his plan, which was to introduce some Araucanian soldiers into the place, during the time when the Spaniards were accustomed to indulge in their *siesta* or afternoon sleep. Andrew readily engaged to give every assistance in his power, and even offered to keep one of the gates open on the day assigned for executing the enterprise. Pran, elated with joy at the supposed acquisition of a so useful associate, hastened to Caupolican, who was only at a short distance from Canete, to whom he related the success of his endeavours. On his side, Andrew gave immediate notice of the intended plot to Reynoso, the commander of the fort, who desired him to keep up the deception by appearing to concur in its execution, in order to entrap the enemy in their own snare.

Entirely occupied with an ardent desire of accomplishing this enterprise against Canete, Caupolican lost sight of his wonted prudence, and too easily reposed confidence in this ill concerted scheme. The better to arrange his measures on this occasion, he procured an interview with Andrew by means of Pran, and the artful Promaucian appeared before Caupolican with that flattering show of respect and attachment which villains know so well to assume. He broke out into virulent invectives against the Spaniards, whom he pretended to have always detested, and declared his readiness to perform the promise he had made to Pran, asserting that the execution of the plot would be perfectly easy. Caupolican applauded his partriotism, and engaged, if the plot succeeded, to raise him to the office of ulmen, and to appoint him first captain in the Araucanian army in reward of his services. He then shewed him the troops which he had along with him, appointing next day for executing the plot, and dismissed him with the strongest assurances of favour and esteem. Andrew immediately communicated the intelligence to Reynoso, and the Spaniards employed the whole of that night in making every preparation to obtain the greatest possible advantage from this double act of perfidy. When the particulars of this plot were communicated to the principal officers of the Araucanian army, they openly disapproved of it, as disgraceful to the national honour, and refused to accompany Caupolican in the expedition. But he obstinately adhered to his design, and began his march at day-break for

 Canete

Canete with three thousand men, with whom he posted himself in concealment near the place, till Pran came to inform him from Andrew that every thing was in readiness to deliver the place into his hands. The Araucanians immediately proceeded in silence towards the city, and finding the gate open according to promise began to enter it. When a sufficient number were got in, the Spaniards suddenly closed the gate upon them, and immediately opened a fire of grape-shot on those without who were crowding to the gate, making a dreadful slaughter. The cavalry belonging to the garrison, being all in readiness, issued from another gate, and completed the destruction of all who had escaped from the fire of the cannon, so that hardly one of all the Araucanians escaped. Caupolican escaped the general slaughter of his men with a small number of attendants, and retired to the mountains, whence he hoped to be soon able to return with a new army sufficiently numerous to keep the field. While the cavalry gave a loose to their fury on the Araucanians without the walls, the infantry were employed within the fort in putting to death all that had got through the gate; who, finding all chance of escape utterly hopeless, chose rather to be cut in pieces than surrender. Pran, discovering his error when too late, rushed among the thickest of the foe, and escaped by an honourable death from the well merited reproaches of his imprudent and fatal credulity. Among a few prisoners taken on this occasion were three ulmens, who were all blown from the mouths of cannon.

As Don Garcia believed the Araucanian war was terminated by this destructive enterprise, he gave orders to rebuild the city of Conception, and desirous of adding fresh laurels to the victories he had already obtained, he marched in 1558 with a numerous army against the Cunches in the south of Chili, a nation which had not yet been assailed by the Spanish arms. On first hearing of the approach of the Spaniards, the chiefs of the Cunches met in council to deliberate whether they should submit or resist the invasion of these formidable strangers. On this occasion, one Tunconobal, an Araucanian exile, who was present in the assembly, was desired to give his opinion, which he did in the following terms. "Be cautious how you adopt either of these measures. If you submit, you will be despised as vassals and compelled to labour; if you resist in arms, you will be exterminated. If you desire to get free of these dangerous visitors, make them be-

lieve that you are miserably poor. Hide your property, particularly your gold; and be assured the Spaniards will not remain in your country if they have no expectation of procuring that sole object of all their wishes. Send them such a present as may impress them with an opinion of your extreme poverty, and in the mean time retire into the woods."

The Cunches approved the wise council of the Araucanian, and deputed him with nine natives of the country to carry a present to the Spanish general, such as he had recommended. He clothed himself and his companions accordingly in wretched rags, and made his appearance with every mark of fear before Don Garcia. After complimenting him in rude terms, he presented him with a basket containing some roasted lizards and wild fruits, as all that the poverty of the country could supply. The Spaniards could not refrain from laughter at the wretched appearance of the ambassadors and their miserable present, and endeavoured to dissuade the governor from pursuing the expedition into so unpromising a region. Unwilling to relinquish his plan with too much facility, he exhorted his troops to persevere; assuring them that, according to information he had received, they would find a country abounding in the precious metals. This was indeed by no means improbable, as it was usual in America to meet with the richest countries after passing through frightful deserts. He then inquired of the Cunches which was the best road into the south. Tunconobal directed him towards the west, which was the roughest and most mountainous; and on being asked for a guide, left one of his companions, whom he directed to lead the Spanish army by the most difficult and desolate roads near the coast. The guide followed the instructions of Tunconobal with so much judgment, that although the Spaniards had been accustomed to surmount the severest fatigues in their pursuit of conquests, they declared they had never encountered such difficulties in any of their former marches. On the fourth day of this terrible march, their guide quitted them, and they found themselves in the middle of a frightful desert surrounded by rugged precipices, whence they could perceive no way by which to extricate themselves. But Don Garcia encouraged them to persevere, by the flattering assurance of soon reaching a happy country which would amply repay all their present fatigues and privations.

Having at length overcome all the obstacles in their way, the

the Spaniards arrived at the top of a high mountain, whence they discovered the great archipelago of *Ancud*, more commonly named of Chiloé, the channels among the islands being covered by innumerable boats or canoes navigated by sails and oars. They were filled with joy at this unexpected prospect; and as they had suffered many days from hunger, they hastened to the shore, and were delighted by seeing a boat making towards them, in which were fifteen persons handsomely clothed. These natives immediately leaped on shore without evincing the smallest apprehension of the Spaniards, whom they cordially saluted, inquiring who they were, whence they came, whether they were going, and if they were in want of any thing. The Spaniards asked for provisions, and the chief of these strangers immediately gave them all the provisions in his boat, refusing to accept any thing in return, and promised to send them a large immediate supply from the neighbouring islands. Indeed the famished Spaniards had scarcely completed their encampment, when numerous piraguas arrived from the different islands, loaded with maize, fruit, and fish, all of which the natives distributed gratuitously among them. Constantly and liberally supplied by these friendly islanders, the Spaniards marched along the shore of the continent opposite the archipelago, all the way to the Bay of Reloncavi. Some of them went over to the neighbouring islands, where they found the land well cultivated, and the women employed in spinning wool, mixed with the feathers of sea-birds, which they manufactured into cloth for garments. The celebrated poet Ercilla was one of the party; and as he was solicitous of the reputation of having proceeded farther south than any other European, he crossed the gulf to the opposite shore, where he inscribed some verses on the bark of a tree, containing his own name and the date of the discovery, being the 31st January 1559.

Satisfied with this discovery of the archipelago of Chiloé, Don Garcia returned towards the north, having one of the islanders as a guide, who conducted him safely to Imperial through the inland country of the Huilliches, which is for the most part level and abounds in provisions. The inhabitants, who are similar in all respects to their western neighbours the Cunches, made no opposition to his march through their country; and Don Garcia on this occasion founded the city of Osorno in their country at the western extremity of a great lake, though according to some authors he only rebuilt that town.

town. For some time this place increased rapidly in population and wealth, in consequence of great abundance of fine gold being found in its neighbourhood, and of extensive manufactures of woollen and linen carried on by its inhabitants; but it was afterwards destroyed by the toqui Paillamacu[6].

While Don Garcia was engaged in this expedition into the south of Chili, Alonzo Reynoso the commandant of Canete used every effort to discover the place in which Caupolican lay concealed, both offering rewards for information and even employing torture to extort intelligence from the natives. He at length found a person who engaged to point out the place in which the Araucanian general had concealed himself ever since his last defeat. A detachment of cavalry was accordingly sent under the guidance of this traitor, and coming upon him by surprise one morning at day-break, succeeded in taking that great and heroic champion a prisoner, after a gallant resistance from ten faithful followers who continued to adhere to him under his misfortunes. During this combat, his wife incessantly exhorted him to die rather than surrender; and on seeing him made prisoner, she indignantly threw towards him her infant son, saying she would retain nothing that belonged to a coward. The detachment returned to Canete with their prisoner, amidst the rejoicings of the inhabitants, and Reynoso immediately ordered the redoubted toqui to be impaled and shot to death with arrows. On hearing his sentence, Caupolican addressed Reynoso as follows, without the smallest change of countenance, and preserving all his wonted dignity. "My death can answer no possible end, except that of inflaming the inveterate hatred already entertained by my countrymen against the Spaniards. Far from being discouraged by the loss of an unfortunate leader, other Caupolicans will arise from my ashes, who will prosecute the war against you with better fortune. If however you spare my life, from the great influence I possess in Araucania, I may be of great service to the interests of your sovereign, and in aiding the propagation of your religion, which you say is the chief object of the destructive war you wage against us. But, if you are determined that I must die, send me into Spain; where, if your king

6 The ruins of Osorno are in lat. 40° 30′ S. and long. 73° 20′ W. The lake, or *Desaguadero de Osorno*, extends 50 or 60 miles from east to west, by a breadth of 6 or 7 miles.—E.

king thinks proper to condemn me, I may end my days without occasioning new disturbances to my unhappy country."

This attempt of the unfortunate toqui to prevail on Reynoso to spare his life was in vain, as the sentence was ordered to be carried into immediate execution. A priest, who had been employed to converse with Caupolican, pretending to have converted him to the Christian faith, hastily administered the sacrament of baptism; after which the prisoner was conducted to the scaffold erected for his public execution. When he saw the instrument of punishment, which till then he did not clearly comprehend, and noticed a negro who was ready to execute the cruel sentence, he became exasperated, and hurled the executioner from the scaffold with a furious kick, indignantly exclaiming, "Is there no sword and some less unworthy hand to put a man like me to death? In this punishment there is no semblance of justice: It is base revenge!" He was however overpowered by numbers, and compelled to undergo the cruel and ignominious punishment to which he had been condemned. The name of Reynoso is still held in detestation, not only by the Araucanians, but even by the Spaniards themselves, who have ever reprobated his conduct, as cruel, unnecessary, and impolitic, and contrary to those principles of generosity on which they pride themselves as a nation.

Section VIII.

Continuation of the Araucanian War, after the Death of Caupolican, to the Reduction of the Archipelago of Chiloé by the Spaniards.

The prediction of the great and unfortunate Caupolican was soon fulfilled, by the succession of new heroes to defend the liberties of the Araucanians against the Spaniards. Instigated by the most unbounded rage, that nation immediately proceeded to elect a new toqui, capable of taking ample revenge for the ignominious death of their late unfortunate general. On this occasion, a majority of the electors were disposed to have conferred the vacant office on the brave and impetuous Tucapel; but the old and sagacious Colocolo prevailed on the assembled Butacayog to elect the younger Caupolican, eldest son of the late toqui, who possessed the talents

talents of his celebrated and lamented father. Tucapel a second time magnanimously submitted to the choice of the ulmens, and only required to be nominated vice-toqui, which was accordingly granted. The new toqui immediately assembled an army, with which he crossed the Biobio, intending to attack the city of Conception, which according to his information was only defended by a small number of soldiers. Having learned the intention of the Araucanian general, Reynoso followed him with five hundred men, and coming up with him at Talcaguano[1], a place not far from Conception, offered him battle. The young toqui unhesitatingly accepted the challenge, and, animating his soldiers both by his exhortations and example, fell with such fury upon the Spaniards, that he entirely defeated them. Pursued and wounded by the fierce Tucapel, Reynoso made his escape across the Biobio with a small party of cavalry; and, having collected fresh troops, returned to attack the Araucanians in their camp with no better success than before, and was again compelled to retire with loss and disgrace.

After this second action, Millalauco was sent with a message from the toqui to the Spaniards in the island of Quiriquina, whence he brought back intelligence that Don Garcia, with a large body of troops from Imperial, was laying waste the neighbouring provinces belonging to the Araucanian confederacy. On this information, and influenced by the advice of the aged Colocolo, young Caupolican deferred his proposed enterprise against Conception, and hastened into the south to oppose Don Garcia, leaving a respectable force under Millalauco to make head against Reynoso. Don Garcia however, on being informed of the march of the Araucanian army against him, withdrew to Imperial, leaving a body of two hundred of his cavalry in ambush on the road by which Caupolican had to pass. Though unexpectedly attacked by the Spaniards, Caupolican defended himself with admirable courage and presence of mind, and not only repelled the Spaniards with very little loss on his own side, but cut in pieces a great number of his assailants, and pursued the rest to the gates of Imperial, to which he immediately laid close siege. In the mean time, Reynoso and Millalauco,

after

1 In modern maps, a town called Tolcamando is situated on the north of the Biobio, not far from Conception, and is probably the place indicated in the text.—E.

after several severe yet inconclusive encounters, agreed to fight a single combat, a practice not unfrequent during the Araucanian war. They fought accordingly a long while without either being able to obtain the advantage; and at length, fatigued by their combat, they separated by mutual consent, and resumed their former mode of warfare.

Caupolican prosecuted the siege of Imperial with much vigour, but possessed no means of making any impression on its fortifications. After several violent but unsuccessful assaults, he made an attempt to gain over the Promaucian auxiliaries of the Spaniards by means similar to what had been unsuccessfully employed by his father on a former occasion. Two of his officers, named Tulcamaru and Torquin, were employed on this hazardous service and detected by the Spaniards, by whom they were both impaled in sight of the Araucanian army, whom they exhorted in their last moments to die valiantly in defending the liberties of their country. At the same time, an hundred and twenty of the Promaucians, who had been seduced to favour the Araucanians, were hung on the ramparts, all of whom exhorted their countrymen to aid the Araucanians. Caupolican was anxious to signlize himself by the capture of a place which his heroic father had twice attempted in vain, and made a violent effort to carry the place by assault. He several times scaled the walls of the town in person, exposing his life to the most imminent danger, and even one night effected an entrance into the city, followed by Tucapel and a number of brave companions, but was repulsed by Don Garcia, whose vigilance was incessant. On this occasion, Caupolican withdrew, constantly fighting and covered by the blood of his enemies, to a bastion of the fortress, whence he escaped by an adventurous leap and rejoined his troops, who were in much apprehension for the safety of their brave and beloved commander. Wearied out by the length of the siege, which he saw no reasonable prospect of bringing to a favourable conclusion, and impatient of the inactivity of a blockade, Caupolican abandoned this ineffectual attempt upon Imperial, and turned his arms against Reynoso in hope of being able to take revenge upon him for the death of his father. But Don Garcia, by going to the assistance of that officer, rendered all his efforts ineffectual.

In the campaign of the following year, 1559, numerous battles were fought between the two armies, with various successes; but as these produced no material change in the state

of affairs, it is unnecessary to give any particular account of them. Though several of these encounters ended in favour of the Araucanians, yet Caupolican resolved to protract the war, as his troops were daily diminishing in numbers from being continually exposed to the fire arms of their enemies, while the Spaniards were constantly receiving recruits from Peru and Europe. With this intention, therefore, he took possession of a strong situation between Canete and Conception, in a place called Quipeo or Cuyapu, which he fortified so strongly as to be defensible by a few men against any number of enemies unprovided with artillery. On being informed of this measure, Don Garcia marched thither immediately with his army in order to dislodge the Araucanian general, but observing the strength of the position, he delayed for some time making an attack, in hope of drawing the enemy from their strong ground, so that his cavalry might have an opportunity of acting to advantage. In the mean time, frequent skirmishes took place between the two armies, in one of which the celebrated Millalauco was taken prisoner, and who reproached Don Garcia so severely for his cruel manner of making war, that he ordered him instantly to be impaled. While the Araucanians were thus blockaded in their intrenched camp, the traitor Andrew had the temerity to go one day with a message from Don Garcia to Caupolican, threatening him with the most cruel punishment if he did not immediately submit to the authority of the Spaniards. Caupolican, though much enraged at seeing before him the man who had betrayed his father, ordered him immediately to retire, saying that he would assuredly have put him to death by the most cruel tortures, if he had not been invested with the character of an ambassador. Yet Andrew ventured next day to come into the Araucanian camp as a spy, when he was taken prisoner, suspended by his feet from a tree, and suffocated with smoke.

At length Don Garcia commenced his attack upon the camp of the Araucanians, by a violent cannonade from all his artillery. Caupolican and his valiant followers made a vigorous sally, and attacked the Spaniards with so much fury as to kill about forty of them at the first charge, and continued the battle for some time with much success. After a short time, Don Garcia, by a skilful evolution, cut off the retreat of the Araucanians and surrounded them on every side. Yet Caupolican and his intrepid soldiers fought with such

such desperate valour that the issue of the engagement remained doubtful for six hours; till, seeing Tucapel, Colocolo, Rencu, Lincoyan, Mariantu, Ongolmo, and several others of his most valiant officers slain, Caupolican attempted to retreat with the small remnant of his army: But, being overtaken by a party of horse from which he could not possibly escape, he slew himself to avoid a similar cruel fate as that which his father had endured.

Though Don Garcia had already been mistaken in supposing that the spirit of the Araucanians was entirely broken after their terrible overthrow at Canete, he now again thought he had good reason to believe the war wholly at an end. This victory of Quipeo seemed to him completely decisive, as the nation was now left without chiefs or troops, all their principal officers, and those who chiefly supported the courage of the Araucanians, having perished, with the flower of their soldiers, so that he believed the nation would henceforwards be entirely submissive to the will of the conquerors. Impressed with these hopes, he now devoted his whole attention to repair the losses occasioned by the war, rebuilding the fortifications which had been destroyed, particularly Arauco, Angol, and Villarica, all of which he repeopled and provided with competent garrisons. He caused all the mines which had been abandoned to be reopened, and others to be explored: And obtained the establishment of a bishopric in the capital of Chili, to which place he went in person to receive the first bishop, Fernando Barrionuevo, a Franciscan monk. Having a considerable number of veteran troops under his command, for most of whom he believed there was no longer occasion in Chili, he sent off a part of them under Pedro Castillo to complete the conquest of Cujo, formerly commenced by Francisco de Aguirre. Castillo subjected the Guarpes, the ancient inhabitants of that province, to the Spanish dominion, and founded two cities on the eastern skirts of the Andes, which he named San Juan and Mendoza, the latter in compliment to the family name of the governor Don Garcia. The extensive and fertile province of Cujo remained for a considerable time dependent on the government of Chili, but has been since transferred to the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, to which it seems more properly to appertain from its situation and natural boundaries.

While Don Garcia thus took advantage of the apparent calm which prevailed in Chili, he received information that Francisco

Francisco Villagran had arrived from Spain at Buenos Ayres, appointed to succeed him in the government of Chili, and that the king had promoted himself to the viceroyalty of Peru in reward for his services in his present government. In consequence of this information, he confided the interim government of Chili to the care of Rodrigo de Quiroga, and withdrew into Peru, to take possession of the exalted situation of viceroy which his father had formerly occupied.

Villagran, who had been governor of Chili previous to Don Garcia, had gone to Europe when deprived of that government, and had procured his reinstatement from the court of Spain. Believing, from the information of Don Garcia and Quiroga, that the Araucanians were in no condition to give any future trouble, Villagran turned his whole attention after his arrival in Chili, to the reaquisition of the province of Tucuman, which had been annexed by himself to the government of Chili in 1549, and had been since attached to the viceroyalty of Peru. Gregorio Castaneda, whom he employed on this occasion, defeated the Peruvian commander, Juan Zurita, the author of the dismemberment, and restored that country to the authority of the governor of Chili. It continued however only a short time under their government, as, before the close of that century, they were again obliged by order from Spain to surrender it to the viceroy of Peru.

Though Don Garcia and Quiroga had been long experienced in the character of the Araucanians, they had formed a very erroneous opinion of their temper and public spirit, when they deemed them finally subdued in consequence of the victories gained in the late war. Such is the invincible spirit of that brave nation, that even the severest reverses of fortune are insufficient to induce them to submit. Even the heaviest losses, so far from filling them with dejection and dismay, served to inspire them with increased valour. Their heroic constancy under repeated defeats is perfectly wonderful, and the successful and determined perseverance with which they have ever defended their liberties and independence against the superior arms and power of the Spaniards, is without parallel in the history of the world. The scanty remains of the ulmens or Araucanian chiefs who had escaped from the late sanguinary conflicts against Don Garcia, were more resolved than ever to continue the war. Immediately after their late entire defeat at Quipeo, the ulmens assembled in a wood, where they unanimously elected an inferior officer

named Antiguenu, who had signalized himself in the last unfortunate battle, to the vacant office of supreme toqui. Antiguenu readily accepted the honourable but hazardous command; but represented to the assembled chiefs, that as almost all the valiant youth of the nation had perished, he deemed it expedient for them to retire to some secure situation, until a new army could be collected of sufficient strength to keep the field. This prudent advice was approved by all, and accordingly Antiguenu retired with the small remains of the Araucanian army to the inaccessible marshes of Lumaco, called Rochela by the Spaniards, where he caused high scaffolds to be erected to secure his men from the extreme and noxious moisture of that gloomy retreat. The young men who enlisted from time to time into the national army, went to that place to be instructed in the use of their arms, and the Araucanians still considered themselves free since they had a toqui who did not despair of vindicating the independence of their country.

As soon as Antiguenu saw himself at the head of a respectable force, he issued from his retreat, and began to make incursions into the territory which was occupied by the Spaniards, both to inure his troops to discipline, and to subsist them at the expence of the enemy. When this unexpected intelligence was brought to St Jago, it gave great uneasiness to Villagran, who foresaw all the fatal consequences which might result from this new war, having already had long experience of the daring and invincible spirit of the Araucanians. In order if possible to stifle the threatening flame at its commencement, he immediately dispatched his son Pedro into the south, with as many troops as could be collected in haste, and soon after took the same direction himself with a more considerable force. The first skirmishes between the hostile armies were unfavourable to Antiguenu, and an attempt which he made to besiege Canete was equally unsuccessful. Antiguenu attributed his failure on these occasions to the inexperience of his troops, and sought on every occasion for opportunities of accustoming them to the use of arms. At length he had the satisfaction of convincing them that the Spaniards were not invincible, by defeating a body of Spaniards on the hills of Millapoa, commanded by Arias Pardo. To keep up the ardour and confidence which this success had excited in his soldiers, he now took possession of the strong post on the top of Mount Mariguenu, a place of

fortunate

fortunate omen for his country. Being either so much afflicted with the gout, or averse from exposing himself to the hazard of attacking that strong post, which had formerly proved so unfortunate to him, Villagran gave it in charge to one of his sons to dislodge the enemy from that formidable position. The rash yet enterprising young man attacked the Araucanian entrenchments with so little precaution that almost all his army was cut in pieces, and himself killed at the entrance of the encampment, and on this occasion the flower of the Spanish troops and a great number of their auxiliaries were cut off.

Immediately after this signal victory, Antiguenu marched against the fortress of Canete, rightly judging that it would not be in a condition to resist him in the present circumstances. Villagran was likewise convinced of the impossibility of defending that place, and anticipating the design of the Araucanian general, ordered all the inhabitants to withdraw, part of whom retired to Imperial and the rest to Conception. Antiguenu, therefore, on his arrival at that place, so fatal to his nation, had only the trouble of destroying the fortifications and setting fire to the houses, all of which he completely destroyed.

Overcome with grief and anxiety, Villagran died soon after the disastrous battle of Mariguenu, universally regretted by the Spanish inhabitants of Chili, who lost in him a wise humane and valiant governor, to whose prudent conduct on several trying occasions they had been much beholden for the preservation of their conquests. Before his death, in virtue of special powers vested in him by his commission from the court of Spain, he appointed his eldest son Pedro to succeed him in the government, whose endowments of mind were in no respect inferior to those of his father. By the death of the governor, Antiguenu conceived that he had a favourable opportunity for undertaking some important enterprise. He divided his army, which now consisted of 4000 men, into two bodies, one of which he ordered to lay siege to Conception under the command of his vice-toqui Antunecul, to attract the attention of the Spaniards in that quarter, while he marched with the other division to invest the fort of Arauco, which was defended by a strong garrison under the command of Lorenzo Bernal.

Antunecul accordingly crossed the Biobio and encamped in a place called Leokethal, where he was twice attacked by the

the governor of Conception, against whom he defended himself so vigorously that he repulsed him with considerable loss, and followed him after the second attack to the city which he closely invested, by disposing his troops in six divisions around its walls. He continued the siege for two months, almost every day of which period was distinguished by some gallant assault or successful skirmish; but finding all his attempts to gain possession of the place unavailing, and being unable to prevent the introduction of frequent succours by sea to the besieged, he at length withdrew with the intention of making a new attempt at a more favourable opportunity.

In the mean time Antiguenu pressed the siege of Arauco with the greatest vigour, but was resisted by the Spanish garrison with determined bravery. Observing that in all his attacks his bravest officers were pointed out to the Spaniards by their Indian auxiliaries, and made a mark for their artillery, he contrived by means of emissaries to persuade the Spanish commander that the auxiliaries had plotted to deliver up the fort to the Araucanians. Bernal gave such credit to this false report, that he immediately ordered these unfortunate men to quit the place, and turned them out in spite of their remonstrances and entreaties. This was the very object aimed at by the politic toqui, who immediately caused them all to be seized and put to a cruel death in sight of the Spaniards, who were exceedingly exasperated at seeing themselves so grossly imposed upon by one whom they counted an ignorant barbarian. As the siege was protracted to a considerable length and Antiguenu was impatient for its conclusion, he challenged the governor to single combat, in hope of becoming master of the place by the death of Bernal; who, deeming himself secure of the victory, accepted the challenge in spite of the remonstrances of his soldiers. The battle between these champions continued for two hours, without either being able to obtain any advantage, or even to give his antagonist a single wound; when at length they were separated by their men. What Antiguenu had been unable to attain by force, was performed for him by famine. Several boats loaded with provisions had repeatedly attempted in vain to relieve the besieged, as the vigilance of the besiegers opposed an invincible obstacle to their introduction. At length Bernal found himself compelled to abandon the place for want of provisions, and the Araucanians permitted him and the garrison to retire without molestation, contenting them-

selves with burning the houses and demolishing the fortifications. The capture of Angol, after that of Canete and Arauco, appeared so easy to Antiguenu, that he gave it in charge to one of his subalterns; who defeated a body of Spaniards commanded by Zurita, while on his march to invest Angol: But the Araucanian officer was defeated in his turn near Mulchen[2] by Diego Carranza, who had been sent against him by the inhabitants of that city.

Solicitous to maintain the reputation of his arms, Antiguenu marched in person at the head of two thousand men to resume the attack upon Angol. Before proceeding to attack that place, he encamped at the confluence of the river Vergosa with the Biobio, where he was attacked by a Spanish army under the command of Bernal. In this engagement the Araucanians made use of some Spanish musquets which they had taken at their late victory of Mariguenu, which they employed with much skill, and bravely sustained the assault for three hours. At length, when four hundred of the auxiliaries and a considerable number of Spaniards had fallen, the infantry began to give way, upon which Bernal gave orders to his cavalry to put to death every one who attempted flight. This severe order brought back the Spanish infantry to their duty, and they attacked the entrenchments of the enemy with so much vigour that at length they forced their way into the camp of the Araucanians. Antiguenu exerted his utmost efforts to oppose the assailants; but he was at length forced along by the crowd of his soldiers, who were thrown into irretrievable confusion and fled. During the flight, he fell from a high bank into the river and was drowned. The Araucanians were defeated with prodigious slaughter, many of them perishing in the river in their attempt to escape by swimming. In this battle, which was fought in the year 1564, almost the whole of the victorious army was wounded, and a considerable number slain; but they recovered forty-one musquets, twenty-one cuirasses, fifteen helmets, and a great number of lances and other weapons which the Araucanians had obtained in their late victories, and had used against their former proprietors.

While these events were passing on the banks of the Biobio, an Araucanian officer named Lillemu, who had been detached

2 No such name occurs in the modern maps of Chili, but a town called Millaqui is situated about 20 miles to the north of Angol.—E.

ed by Antiguenu to lay waste the provinces of Chillan and Itata, defeated a Spanish detachment of eighty men commanded by Pedro Balsa. To repress these ravages, the governor of Conception marched against Lillemu with an hundred and fifty men, and cut off a party of Araucanians who were desolating the province of Chillan. Lillemu hastened to their succour, but finding them defeated and dispersed, he was only able to save the remainder of his troops by making a gallant stand in a narrow pass with a small select band, by which he checked the advance of the enemy, and gave time to his army to effect their escape; but he and his brave companions sacrificed their lives in this gallant effort of patriotism.

On the death of the valiant Antiguenu, the Araucanians elected as his successor in the toquiate a person named Paillataru, who was brother or cousin to the celebrated Lautaro, but of a very different character and disposition. Slow and circumspect in all his operations, the new toqui contented himself during the first years of his command in endeavouring to keep up the love of liberty among his countrymen, whom he led from time to time to ravage and plunder the possessions of the Spaniards, always avoiding any decisive conflict. About this time likewise the royal audience of Lima appointed Rodrigo de Quiroga to succeed the younger Villagran in the government of Chili; and Quiroga began his administration by arresting his predecessor in office, whom he sent prisoner into Peru.

Having received a reinforcement of three hundred soldiers in 1565, Quiroga invaded the Araucanian territory, where he rebuilt the fort of Arauco and the city of Canete, constructed a new fortress at the celebrated post of Quipeo, and ravaged all the neighbouring provinces. Towards the end of the year 1566, he sent Ruiz Gamboa with a detachment of sixty men to reduce the archipelago of Chiloé to subjection. Gamboa met with no resistance in this enterprise, and founded in the large island of Ancud or Chiloé, the small city of Castro, and the sea-port of Chacao. The islands of this archipelago are about eighty in number, having been produced by earthquakes, owing to the great number of volcanoes with which that country formerly abounded, and indeed every part of them exhibits the most unequivocal marks of fire. Several mountains in the great island of Chiloé, which has given name to the archipelago, are composed of basaltic columns, which

which could have only been produced by the operation of subterranean fire[3]. Though descended from the Chilese of the continent, as is evident from their appearance, manners, and language, the natives of these islands are quite of a different character, being of a pacific and rather timid disposition; insomuch that, although their population is said to have exceeded seventy thousand, they made no opposition to the handful of Spaniards sent on this occasion to reduce them, nor have they ever attempted to shake off the yoke until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when an insurrection of no great importance was excited, and very soon quelled[4].

Section IX.

Continuation of the Araucanian war to the Destruction of all the Spanish settlements in the territories of that Nation.

The long continuance of the Araucanian war, and the great importance of the kingdom of Chili, at length determined Philip II. to erect a court of Royal Audience in Chili, independent upon that which had long subsisted in Peru. To this court, which was composed of four oydors or judges and a fiscal, the civil and military administration of the kingdom was confided; and its members made a solemn entry into the city of Conception, where they fixed their residence, on the 13th of August 1567. Immediately on assuming their functions, the judges removed Quiroga from the government, and appointed Ruiz Gamboa to the command of the army with the title of general. Learning that Paillataru, the toqui of the Araucanians, was preparing to besiege the city of Canete, Gamboa hastened to that place with a respectable force, and finding the toqui encamped not far from the threatened city, he attacked his fortified post, and defeated him after a long and obstinate contest. After this victory, Gamboa overran and laid waste the Araucanian territories for

3 These are the opinions of Molina, not of the editor, who takes no part in the discussion between the Huttonians and Wernerians; neither indeed are there any data in the text on which to ground any opinion, were he even disposed by inclination or geognostic knowledge to become a party on either side.—E.

4 In the text, Molina gives here some account of the natives of Chiloe, which is postponed to the close of this chapter.—E.

for a whole year without opposition, and carried off great numbers of women and children into slavery. He employed every effort however, repeatedly to induce the Araucanians to enter into negociations for peace, but to no purpose, as they preferred the endurance of every possible evil before the loss of their national liberty, and continually refused to listen to his proposals.

As peace, so necessary to the well being of the Spanish settlements in Chili, seemed every day more remote, in spite of every effort for its attainment, it at length appeared to the court of Spain that the government of a country in a continual state of war was improperly placed in the hands of a court of justice: Accordingly it was again confided to the management of a single chief, under the new titles of President, Governor, and Captain-general. Don Melchior Bravo de Saravia was invested with this triple character in 1568; a man well qualified to act as president of the court of audience and civil governor of the kingdom, but utterly incompetent to sustain the charge of captain-general; yet he was anxious to signalize the commencement of his government by the attainment of a splendid victory over the redoubtable Araucanians, for which an opportunity soon offered, but which redounded to his own disgrace.

Paillataru had collected a new army, with which he occupied the strong position of Mariguenu, so fatal to the Spaniards, and which for some unaccountable reason they had neglected to fortify. Immediately on learning this circumstance, the governor marched against the toqui at the head of three hundred Spanish soldiers and a large auxiliary force. Like several of his predecessors, Paillataru had the glory of rendering this mountain famous by the total defeat of the Spanish army. The governor had the good fortune to make his escape from this battle, and precipitately withdrew with a small remnant of his troops to Angol, where he resigned the command of the army, appointing Gamboa major-general and Velasco[1] quarter-master. He was at this time so intimidated by his defeat, that he ordered these officers to evacuate the fortress of Arauco, so often already destroyed and rebuilt. While escorting the inhabitants of that place to Canete, these officers fell in with a division of the Araucanians, which they attacked and defeated. Yet Paillataru, who had removed from

1 In a subsequent passage Molina names this officer Bernal.—E.

from Mariguenu to the post of Quipeo, marched two days afterwards against Canete, which he proposed to besiege; but Gamboa advanced to meet him with all the troops he could collect, and gave him battle. The engagement continued more than two hours, and was one of the bloodiest and hardest contested ever fought in Chili. Though severely handled, the Spaniards remained masters of the field, and the Araucanians were compelled to retreat. Gamboa now invaded the Araucanian territory, intending to ravage it as formerly; but Paillataru, having repaired his losses in a short time by fresh levies, returning to defend his country, and compelled Gamboa to retreat with loss.

From this time, till the death of Paillataru, about four years afterwards, a suspension of arms or tacit truce was observed between the Spaniards and Araucanians. This was probably owing in a great measure to the general consternation occasioned by a dreadful earthquake which was felt throughout the whole country, and did great injury to the Spanish settlements, particularly to the city of Conception, which was entirely destroyed. Ever anxious to consolidate and give importance to their conquests, the court of Spain erected in 1570, a new bishopric in the city of Imperial, to which the vast extent of country between the river Maulé and the southern confines of Chili was assigned as a diocese[2].

About this time the *Mestees*, or descendents of Spaniards by Indian women had multiplied greatly in Chili, and perceiving the great advantage that might be derived from their assistance against the Spaniards, and to attach them to their cause by a strong acknowledgement that they were their countrymen, the Araucanians conferred the office of toqui upon one of these men named Alonzo Diaz, who had assumed the Chilese name of Paynenancu, and had distinguished himself for ten years by his valour and abilities, continually fighting in their armies. If his predecessor Paillataru had the fault of being too cautious in conducting the operations of the war, the new toqui was on the contrary so rash and daring, to avoid that imputation, that he constantly attacked the Spaniards with far inferior numbers, whence all his enterprises were unfortunate as might naturally have been expected.

2 Since the loss of Imperial, Conception has been the residence of this bishop.—E.

ted. Immediately on receiving the investiture of the toquiate, he crossed the river Biobio, probably intending to have attacked Conception; but, before reaching that place, he was attacked and defeated by the quarter-master, notwithstanding the great valour with which he defended himself for a long time. Among the prisoners taken by the Spaniards on this occasion were several Araucanian women, all of whom killed themselves the same night. Paynenancu, having escaped from the carnage, raised a new army and marched against Villarica, but was again defeated by Rodrigo Bastidas, the military commandant of that city.

While the war continued to rage in 1575, the licentiate Calderon arrived in Chili from Spain, with a commission to examine and regulate the government of that kingdom. His first step was to suppress the court of audience, on the sole principle of economy, and instead of the president Melchior Bravo, Rodrigo Quiroga, who had been formerly appointed governor by the audience of Lima, was reinstated in that office. Having assembled all the troops he could raise, the new governor proceeded in 1576 to the frontiers, to oppose the ravages of Paynenancu, who, though twice defeated, continued to harass the Spanish settlements by frequent inroads. But, as the toqui carefully avoided any rencounter, the governor contented himself with ravaging the Araucanian territories in revenge. Having afterwards received a reinforcement of two thousand men from Spain, he gave directions to his father-in-law [3] Gamboa to found a new city at the foot of the Cordellieras [4], between the cities of St Jago and Conception, which has since received the appellation of Chillan from the river on which it stands, and has become the capital of the fertile province of the same name. Shortly after the foundation of this new city, the governor died in 1580 at a very advanced age, having previously nominated Gamboa to succeed him in the government of the kingdom. Gamboa continued three years in the command, continually occupied in opposing the Araucanians in the south under their toqui Paynenancu, and in defending the kingdom on the east against the Pehuenches and Chiquillanians, who now began to molest the Spaniards at the instigation of the Araucanians. The

3 Thus in the original, though probably his son-in-law, as Quiroga died soon after at an advanced age.—E.

4 The city of Chillan, instead of being at the foot of the Andes, is in the plain country more than half way between that great chain and the sea.—E.

The Pehuenches are a numerous tribe who inhabit that portion of the Andes of Chili which lies between the latitudes of 34° and 37° S. to the eastwards of the Spanish provinces of Calchagua, Maule, Chillan, and Huilquilemu. Their dress resembles that of the Araucanians, except that they wear a piece of cloth like the Japenese round the waist which hangs down to the knees [5], instead of drawers or breeches. Their boots or shoes are all of one piece of skin, being that of the hind leg of an ox taken off at the knee, which is fitted to the foot of the wearer while green, turning the hair side inmost, and sewing up one of the ends, the skin of the knee serving for the heel. By being constantly worn and frequently rubbed with tallow, these shoes become as soft and pliant as the best dressed leather [6]. Though these mountaineers are valiant and hardy soldiers, yet are they fond of adorning themselves like women, decorating themselves with ear-rings and bracelets of glass-beads, with which also they ornament their hair, and hang small bells around their heads. Although possessed of numerous herds of cattle and sheep, their usual food is horse flesh, which like the Tartars they prefer to all other kinds, and always eat cooked, either by boiling or roasting. Like the Bedowin Arabs, the Pehuenches dwell in tents made of skins, disposed in a circular form around a spacious area, in which their cattle feed while the herbage lasts; and when that begins to fail they remove their camp to a fresh pasture, continually traversing in this manner the valleys among the Andes. Each village or encampment is governed by a hereditary ulmen. Their language and religion resemble those of the Araucanians. They are extremely fond of hunting, and often traverse the immense plains which stretch from the great Rio Plata to the Straits of Magellan in pursuit of game, sometimes extending their excursions as far as Buenos Ayres, and even occasionally indulge

5 A comparison more familiar to the British reader might be made to the *philabeg* or short petticoat worn by the Scots Highlanders.—E.

6 In this part of dress they likewise resemble the Scots Highlanders of old, who wore a kind of shoes made of raw hides with the hair on, called *rough rullions*. In both of course using the most obvious and easiest means of decency and protection. Before the introduction of European cattle into Chili, the natives must have employed the skins of the original animals of the country, probably of the *guemul* or *huemul*, the equus bisulcus of Molina and other naturalists, an animal having some resemblance to a horse but with cloven hoofs.—E.

dulge in plundering the vicinity of that city. They frequently attack the caravans which pass between Buenos Ayres and Chili, and have been so successful in these predatory enterprises as almost to have stopped that commerce entirely.

It may be proper to relate what I noticed on a journey in that country, having set out from Mendoza in the province of Cujo, on the 27th of April 1783, with post horses for Buenos Ayres. We soon learnt, from some people whom we met, that the Pehuenches were out upon predatory excursions, and soon afterwards received the melancholy intelligence that they had committed horrible massacres in the *Portion of Magdalena.* In consequence of this, all the post-houses where we stopped were in a state of alarm, and some of them were entirely deserted. During the year before, three hundred of these Indians appeared suddenly before the post of Gutierrez, all lying back upon their horses and trailing their lances, in order to make it appear that it was only a drove of mares which is a very common sight in those *Pampas* or almost unlimited plains. Although they saw but one man who patroled the wall with his musquet, and was indeed the only person in the post, they were deterred from making any attack, supposing it to be strongly guarded. This man knew well that the horses were guided, by the exact order they pursued, though he could see nothing of the riders till they were very near. He had the prudence likewise to refrain from firing his musquet, which probably led them to believe there was a greater force within the place, and induced them to abandon the enterprise, venting their rage on the other unprotected inhabitants of the plains. The commander of the post of Amatrain was not so fortunate, as he was killed that same year along with a negro who accompanied him. These posts are fortified with palisades, or with a mud wall, and have a ditch and draw-bridge.

Although the Pehuenches frequently commit depredations in these eastern plains, they have many years refrained from any hostilities within the boundaries of Chili, unless in times of actual war between the nations; induced to this either from fear of the military population of Chili, or by the advantages which they derive from trading with the inhabitants of that kingdom. Their favourite weapon is the *laque* or leathern thong with a stone at each end, which they always carry fastened to their girdles. It is highly probable that the ten Americans in the ship commanded by Orellana, of whose amazing and desperate courage, mention is made in Ansons voyage,

voyage, were of this tribe. Notwithstanding their wandering and restless mode of life, they are more addicted to industrious and even commercial habits than any of the savage natives of South America. When in their tents, they are never idle. The women weave cloths of various colours, and the men occupy themselves in making baskets, and a variety of beautiful articles of wood, leather, skins, or feathers, which are much prized by the Spaniards. Every year they assemble in large numbers on the Spanish frontiers, where they hold a kind of fair which generally lasts fifteen or twenty days. On these occasions they bring for sale, besides horses and cattle, fossil salt, gypsum, pitch, bed-coverings, ponchos, skins, wool, bridle-reins beautifully wrought of plaited leather, baskets, wooden vessels, feathers, ostrich-eggs, and a variety of other articles; and receive in return wheat, wine, and European manufactures. In the conduct of this barter they are very skilful, and can with difficulty be overreached. Lest they should be cheated or plundered by the Christian merchants, who think every thing lawful against unbelievers, they never drink all at one time; but separate themselves into several companies, some of whom keep guard while the rest indulge in wine. They are generally humane, courteous, just in their dealings, and possessed of many estimable qualities.

The Chiquillanians, whom some persons have supposed a tribe of the Pehuenches, live to the north-east of that nation, on the eastern borders of the Andes [7]. These are the most savage, and consequently the least numerous of any of the tribes of the Chilese; for it is an established fact, that the ruder the state of savage life the less favourable it is to population. They go almost naked, merely wrapping the skins of the *Guanaco* round their bodies, and they speak a corrupted and guttural dialect of the Chili-dugu or Chilese language. It is observable that all the Chilese tribes which inhabit the elevated valleys of the Andes, both Pehuenches, Puelches, Huilliches, and Chiquillanians, are much redder than those of their countrymen who dwell in the lower country to the west of these mountains. All these mountaineers dress themselves in skins, paint their faces, subsist in a great measure by hunting,

7 In the map accompanying the English translation of Molina, the Pehuenches and Chiquillanians are placed under the same parallel between lat. 33° 30′ and 36° S. The former on the western and the latter on the eastern side of the Andes.—E.

ing, and lead a wandering and unsettled life. They are in fact the so much celebrated Patagonians, who have been occasionally seen near the Straits of Magellan, and who have sometimes been described as giants, and at other times as not much beyond the ordinary stature of mankind. Generally speaking however, they are of lofty stature and have great muscular strength.

On information being sent to Spain of the death of Quiroga, as formerly mentioned, Don Alonzo Sotomayor Marquis of Villa-hermoso was sent out as governor with six hundred regular troops. He landed at Buenos Ayres in 1583, from whence he proceeded to St Jago. On taking possession of his government, he appointed his brother Don Luis to the new office of Colonel of the Kingdom, and sent him with a military force to relieve the cities of Villarica and Valdivia, which were both besieged by the Araucanians. After twice defeating the toqui, Paynenancu, who opposed his march, he raised the sieges and supplied both places with reinforcements. The indefatigable but unfortunate toqui, after two defeats from Don Luis, turned his arms against Tiburcio Heredia and Antonio Galleguillos, who were ravaging the country with separate strong detachments of cavalry, and was successively defeated by both of these officers, yet the victors paid dear for their successes.

While these events were going on in the south, the governor had to oppose the Pehuenches who had invaded the new settlement of Chillan, and whom he defeated and constrained to retire into their mountains. He then marched into Araucania at the head of seven hundred Spaniards and a great number of auxiliaries, resolved to pursue the cruel and rigorous system of warfare which had formerly been adopted by Don Garcia, in preference to the humane procedure of his immediate predecessors. The province of Encol was the first to experience the effects of this severity, as he laid it entirely waste with fire and sword, and either hanged his prisoners, or sent them away with their hands cut off to intimidate their countrymen. The adjoining provinces of Puren, Ilicura, and Tucapel would have experienced a similar fate, if the inhabitants had not ensured their personal safety by flight, after setting their houses and crops on fire, and destroying every thing they could not carry off. Only three prisoners were taken in these provinces, who were impaled. Notwithstanding these severities, many mestees and mulatoes joined the

4 Araucanians,

Araucanians, and even some Spaniards, among who was Juan Sanchez, who acquired great reputation among them.

Impelled either by his natural rash valour, or by despair on finding that he had fallen in the estimation of the Araucanians by his want of success, Paynenancu gave battle to the whole Spanish army on the confines of the province of Arauco with only eight hundred men; yet such was the resolute valour with which they fought that the Spaniards were unable to break their firm array, till after a hard contested battle of several hours, in which they lost a considerable number of men. Almost the whole of the Araucanian troops engaged in this unequal contest were slain; but Paynenancu was made prisoner and immediately executed. The victorious governor encamped with his army on the banks of the Carampangui river, and caused the fortress of Arauco to be rebuilt, of which he gave the command to Garcia Ramon the quarter-master.

The Araucanian valour, which had been repressed by the imprudent conduct of Paynenancu, was revived in 1585, by the elevation of Cayancura to the dignity of toqui, an ulmen of the province or district of Mariguenu. Immediately on his election, he dispatched an hundred and fifty messengers to every corner of the country, with the symbolical arrows to summon the martial youth of Araucania to the national army. Having by these means assembled a respectable force, the new toqui determined upon making an attack at midnight on the Spanish camp, which was still on the banks of the Carampangui, and of the exact situation of which he had procured information by means of a spy. For this purpose, he formed his army in three divisions, of which he gave the command to three valiant officers, Lonconobal, Antulevu, and Tarochina. The divisions proceeded by three several roads which led to the camp, and coming upon it by surprise, cut the auxiliaries to pieces who were the first to oppose their progress. Fortunately for the Spaniards, the moon rose about the middle of the assualt, and enabled them, after a short period of confusion, and the loss of several men, to form themselves in good order, and to make head against the assailants, who at length began to give way after suffering severely from the fire of the Spanish musquetry. Just at this critical time, the governor charged the Araucanians and forced them to give way, after both sides had suffered considerable loss. Cayancura, who had halted with a body of

reserve

reserve at the entrance of the Spanish camp for the purpose of supporting the attack, on finding his troops retiring exhausted and dispirited, drew off the whole to some distance where he permitted them to take rest and refreshment during the remainder of the night, and returned at day-break next morning to the attack. The Spanish army marched out to meet them in the open field, and a most obstinate and bloody battle ensued. After a brave contest, the Araucanians were overpowered by the artillery and cavalry of the Spaniards, and constrained to quit the field with great loss, though the Spaniards paid dear for their victory; insomuch that, immediately after the action, the governor raised his camp and retired to the frontiers, where he built two forts named Trinidad and Spiritu Santo on the northern shore of the Biobio. He also sent orders to the major-general to raise as many recruits as possible throughout the kingdom of Chili, which officer brought him accordingly a reinforcement of two thousand [8] horse and a considerable number of infantry.

Undismayed by his recent losses, the Araucanian general determined to take advantage of the governors retreat to lay siege to the fort of Arauco; and in order to secure the success of this enterprise, he endeavoured to occupy the Spanish arms in other quarters. For this purpose, he ordered one of his officers named Guepotan to make incursions on the territory of Villarica from the fortified post of Liben, where he had supported himself for several years. To Cadiguala, another officer who afterwards became toqui, he gave it in charge to harass the district of Angol; appointed Tarochina to guard the passage of the Biobio, and sent Melilauca and Catipillan to keep the garrison of Imperial in check. These officers had several encounters with the Spaniards attended with various success. Guepotan lost the fortified post of Liben, which was taken by the governors brother. Tarochina made himself master of a great number of boats on the Biobio, which were conveying supplies of men and warlike stores to the recently erected forts on that river.

In the year 1586, the toqui Cayancura began the siege of Arauco, which he surrounded with strong lines, so as not only to intercept all succours, but to prevent the retreat of the

8 From the original army of the governor having only seven hundred men, I am apt to believe the number of horse in the text ought only to have been two *hundred*.—E.

the garrison [9]. Perceiving from these preparations that they must finally be compelled to surrender or perish by famine, the garrison thought it better to die at once with arms in their hands than to be reduced to such extremity. They attacked therefore the works of the enemy with such vigour, that after an obstinate and sanguinary combat of four hours, they succeeded in forcing them, and put the Araucanians to flight. Cayancura was so exceedingly mortified by this defeat, that he retired to his ulmenate, leaving the command of the army to his son, Nangoniel, a young man of great hopes and much beloved by the nation. This young commander immediately collected a new army, in which were an hundred and fifty horse, which from this time forwards became a regular part of the Araucanian military force. With these troops he returned to invest the fortress of Arauco, and guarded all its environs so closely that the garrison were unable to procure a supply of provisions, and were at length compelled to evacuate it, probably on capitulation. Encouraged by this good fortune, Nangoniel proceeded towards the Biobio, intending to attack the fort of Trinidad, which protected the passage of supplies in that direction from Spanish Chili to the forts on the south of that river. But while on his march, he was encountered by a detachment of Spanish troops commanded by Francisco Hernandez, by whom he was defeated. In this action he lost an arm and received several other dangerous wounds. Being obliged by this misfortune to take refuge on a neighbouring mountain, where he was drawn into an ambush by the sergeant-major [10] of the Spanish army, he and fifty of his soldiers were slain, after defending themselves valiantly for a long time. On the same day, an officer named Cadeguala, who had obtained great reputation in the Araucanian army for his courage and military skill, was proclaimed toqui by the officers.

About this time, while the Araucanians were valiantly endeavouring to oppose the Spanish arms, the English also planned an expedition against them in that remote quarter of the world. Sir Thomas Cavendish sailed with this view from

 Plymouth

9 Lines, it would appear of circumvallation and contravallation, probably suggested by some of the Spaniards who had joined the Araucanians. —E.

10 This officer in the Spanish service seems somewhat equivalent to our adjutant; and the sergeant-major of the army in Chili, may be considered as a kind of adjutant-general.—E.

Plymouth on the 21st of July 1586 with three ships, and arrived on the coast of Chili in the following year. He landed at the desert port of Quintero [11], and endeavoured to enter into a negociation with the natives of the country; but he was attacked by Alonzo Molina, the corregidor of St Jago, and compelled to reimbark with the loss of several soldiers and seamen, and quitted the coast after a very short stay.

Cadeguala, the new toqui, signalized the commencement of his administration by several successful inroads into the Spanish possessions, the particulars of which are not recorded. Having notice of the alarm in Spanish Chili occasioned by the English squadron, he resolved to avail himself of that diversion of the Spanish forces to make an effort against the city of Angol by surprise. He maintained a secret intelligence with some of the inhabitants of that place, by whose means he prevailed upon a number of native Chilese, who were in the service of the Spanish citizens, to set fire to their masters houses at a certain hour of an appointed night, when he was to be ready with his army at the gates to assault the place. His plan was accordingly executed; and entering the city during the confusion occasioned by the fires, he divided his force, consisting of a thousand foot and an hundred horse, into several detachments, which made a horrible carnage of the citizens, who flying from the flames fell into the hands of the Araucanians. The garrison attempted in vain to dislodge the enemy, and the whole population of the place had been assuredly put to the sword, but for the courage and conduct of the governor, who had fortunately arrived at the city only two hours before the attack. He immediately hastened with his guards to the different quarters which were occupied by the enemy, where with wonderful presence of mind he collected the dispersed inhabitants who had escaped the sword of the enemy, and conducted them to the citadel. Having armed and marshalled all the most resolute of the inhabitants, he sallied out from the citadel at their head against the enemy, whom he compelled to evacuate the city at break of day. It would appear that the Araucanians had now become less scrupulous than formerly in their mode of making war; for Cadeguala was not abandoned by any of his officers on this occasion, as

Caupolican

11 The port of Quintero, in about lat. 32° 45′ S. is about 8 or 10 miles to the north of the river Quillota in Spanish Chili. The voyage of Sir Thomas Cavendish will appear in an after division of this work.—E.

Caupolican had formerly been in his attempt to surprise Canete by similar means.

Although the Araucanian general had not succeeded in this daring enterprise according to his expectations, he was so little discouraged by its failure that he immediately undertook the siege of Puren, which appeared more easy to be taken as it was situated at some distance from the Spanish frontiers. He accordingly invested it regularly with four thousand men in four separate divisions, under the respective commands of Guanoalca, Caniotaru, Relmuantu, and Curilemu, the most valiant officers of his army. On receiving notice of the investiture of Puren, the governor hastened to its relief with a strong reinforcement, but was opposed on his march by Cadeguala at the head of an hundred and fifty Araucanian horse armed with lances, and compelled to retreat after a long and obstinate combat, in which several fell on both sides. Elated by this success, the toqui made proposals to the besieged, either to enter into his service or to allow them to retire unmolested. These terms, which he pretended were very advantageous for men in their situation, were disdainfully rejected; yet one man of the garrison, named Juan Tapia, went over to the Araucanians by whom he was well received, and even got advancement in their army. As these terms were rejected, Cadeguala determined to endeavour to shorten the siege in a different manner. He presented himself one day before the walls mounted on a fine horse which he had taken from the governor, and boldly defied Garcia Ramon the commander of the garrison to single combat at the end of three days. The challenge was accepted, and the intrepid toqui appeared in the field at the time appointed, with a small number of attendants, whom he placed apart. Ramon likewise came out from the fort to meet him, attended by an escort of forty men, whom he ordered to remain at some distance. The two champions, having taken their distance set spurs to their horses and ran their course with such fury that Cadeguala fell at the first rencounter, pierced through the body by the lance of his adversary. He refused however to acknowledge himself vanquished, and even endeavoured to remount his horse to renew the combat, but died in the attempt. His attendants hastened to raise him, and even carried off his body after a sharp contest with the Spaniards.

After the death of their commander, the Araucanians retired from the blockade for a short time; but soon returned

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to the siege, after having elected Guanoalca to the vacant toquiate, having been informed by the Spanish deserter Tapia, that the garrison was ill supplied with provisions, and divided into parties. Cut off from all hopes of relief, and dissatisfied with the conduct of their officers, the besieged soon determined upon evacuating the place; and the Araucanians allowed them to march off unmolested, according to their usual policy. Guanoalca immediately marched against another fort which the Spaniards had recently erected in the neighbourhood of Mount Mariguenu; but finding that it had been recently and considerably reinforced, he proceeded against the forts of Trinidad and Spiritu Santo on the banks of the Biobio. As the governor of Chili was apprehensive that he might not be able to defend these forts, or perhaps considered them of too little importance to hazard the safety of their garrisons, he evacuated them in 1589, and transferred their garrisons to another fortress which he directed to be constructed on the river Puchanqui as a protection for the city of Angol, so that the operations of the war consisted mostly in the construction and demolition of fortifications.

The toquiate of Guanoalca was more remarkable for the exploits of a heroine named Janequeo than by his own. This famous woman was wife of Guepotan, a valiant officer who had long defended the fortified post of Liben near Villarica. After the loss of that important place he retired to the Andes, where he used every effort to stimulate the Puelches inhabiting that mountainous region to rise in defence of the country against the Spanish invaders. Being desirous of having his wife along with him, he descended into the plains in search of her, but was surprised by a party of Spaniards, and preferring to be cut in pieces rather than yield himself a prisoner, he was slain in the unequal combat. Janequeo, inflamed by an ardent desire to revenge the death of her husband, put herself at the head of an army of Puelches in 1590, assisted by Guechiuntereo her brother, with which she made inroads into the Spanish settlements, killing all of that nation who fell into her hands. Reinforced by a regiment of veteran soldiers which had been sent him from Peru, the governor Don Alonza Sotomayor, marched against the heroine; but, by constantly occupying the high grounds, attacking sometimes the van, sometimes the rear of the Spaniards, and harassing them in every possible way, she at last obliged the governor to retire, after having lost much time and a considerable

siderable number of men to no purpose. As the governor was of opinion that rigorous measures were best calculated to quell the pride of the Araucanians, he ordered all the prisoners taken in this incursion to be hung before his retreat. On this occasion, one of these men requested to be hanged on a higher tree than the rest, that the sacrifice he had made of himself for his country might be the more conspicuous, and inspire his surviving countrymen with the more ardent determination to defend their liberties.

Having thus foiled all the endeavours of a general who had gained high reputation in the wars of Italy, Germany, and Flanders, Janequeo proceeded to attack the recently constructed fortress of Puchanqui, not far from which she defeated and slew the commandant, Aranda, who had advanced to meet her with a part of the garrison. Not being able to gain possession of this fort, she retired at the commencement of the rainy season to the mountains near Villarica, where she fortified herself in a place surrounded by precipices, from whence she continually infested the environs of that city in such a manner that no one dared to venture beyond the walls. Moved by the distresses of the citizens, the governor sent his brother Don Luis to their aid, with the greater part of two reinforcements which he had recently received from Peru, under the command of Castillejo and Penalosa. The intrepid Janequeo awaited him in her fortified post, which she deemed secure, and repelled for a long time the various assaults of the Spaniards with great presence of mind. At length, her soldiers being dispersed by the fire of the artillery, she had to seek for safety in flight. Her brother was made prisoner, and obtained his life on condition of promising to keep his sister quiet, and to secure the friendship of his vassals and adherents to the Spaniards. But, while proposing this measure in a national council, he was killed by the ulmen Catipiuque, who abhorred every species of reconciliation with the enemy.

The old toqui, Guanoalca, died about the close of 1590, and a young and enterprising warrior, named Quintuguenu, was elected in his stead in the year following. Being ambitious of acquiring military glory, the new toqui assaulted and took the fort of Mariguenu by assault, and established himself on the top of that famous mountain with two thousand men, hoping to render himself as celebrated there as Lautaro had been formerly, by gaining an important victory over the Spaniards.

Spaniards. Not dismayed by the misfortunes which had befallen his countrymen in that ill-omened place, the governor put himself at the head of a thousand Spaniards and a large auxiliary force of Indians, and marched without delay for Mariguenu, determined upon dislodging the Araucanians or of besieging them in their post. Having disposed his troops in order, and given the necessary directions, he began at daybreak to ascend the difficult and steep defile, leading the advanced guard in person, directly before which was a forlorn hope of twenty half-pay officers much experienced in similar warfare. He had scarcely got half way up the mountain when he was attacked with the utmost fury by Quintuguenu; but animating his troops by his voice and example, he sustained for more than an hour the utmost efforts of the enemy, and gained the top of the defile by persevering bravery. On reaching the level summit of the mountain, the Araucanians were forced to take refuge within their entrenchments, which they did however in excellent order. The Araucanians, exhorting each other to conquer or die for their country, defended their camp with incredible valour against the utmost efforts of the Spaniards till mid-day; when, after a most obstinate resistance, Don Carlos Irrazabel forced the lines on the left with his company, while at the same time the quartermaster and Rodolphus Lisperger, a valiant German officer, penetrated with their companies on the front and the right of the encampment. Though surrounded on every side, Quintuguenu maintained his troops in good order, earnestly exhorting them not to dishonour themselves by suffering an ignominious defeat in a place which had so often been the theatre of victory to their nation, and by his efforts and bravery long kept the fate of the battle in suspense. While he flew from rank to rank, animating his men and constantly making head against the enemy, he fell pierced with three mortal wounds given by the governor, who had taken aim at him. His last words were an enthusiastic exclamation in favour of liberty. On the death of the toqui, part of the Araucanian troops allowed themselves to be cut in pieces, and the rest sought their safety in flight. Almost all the auxiliaries on the side of the Spaniards fell in this successful battle, but only twenty of the Spaniards were slain, among whom was a Portuguese knight of the order of Christ, who was killed at the commencement of the action.

Highly gratified with being the first who had defeated the

Araucanians

Araucanians on the formidable heights of Mariguenu, the governor conducted his victorious army to the sea-shore, where he was saluted by repeated discharges of cannon from the fleet of Peru, then scouring the coast in search of the English squadron, and which had witnessed the victory. These were answered by the army with repeated vollies of musquetry, and the customary demonstrations of joy on so glorious an occasion. Availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the presence of the fleet, the governor sent the quarter-master-general into Peru to solicit the greatest possible reinforcement of troops without delay, to enable him to prosecute the war to advantage in the ensuing campaign. In the mean time, he abandoned the ancient scite of the fort of Arauco, and rebuilt it in a more convenient situation on the sea-shore. Colocolo, son of the celebrated ulmen of that name, but of a very different disposition from that of his father, was lord of that district, and being indignant at seeing his country occupied by the Spaniards endeavoured to drive them off; but being defeated and made prisoner, he solicited for his life, which he obtained on condition of persuading his subjects to return from the mountains and to submit to the authority of the Spaniards. On being urged by his wife Millayene, to fulfil the promise made by their chief, they replied that he ought to endure his misfortunes with the firmness that became his rank and lineage; that they were willing to encounter every danger under his command, and according to his example, or to revenge the outrages he might be subjected to, but could never consent to betray their country by submitting to obey its bitterest enemies. Irritated by this patriotic resolution of his subjects, Colocolo devoted himself in future to the service of the Spaniards, and even served them as a guide in the pursuit of his own people among the fastnesses in which they had taken refuge.

In the year 1592 there happened to be a Spanish prisoner among the Araucanians, who by his ingratiating manners had acquired the confidence and esteem of the principal people of that high-spirited nation. Either by secret instructions from the governor, or from gratitude for the kind treatment he had received while prisoner, this man exerted himself to effectuate a treaty of peace between the nations, and had at one time a fair prospect of bringing it about. But the preliminaries which he proposed as the ground work of a reconciliation did not prove satisfactory to either party, and all his endeavours were

were abortive. The governor, being irritated at the rejection of his proposals, marched into the province of Tucapel which he laid waste on every side with fire and sword. As Paillaeco, who had been elected toqui in place of Quintuguenu, did not think his force sufficient to oppose the enemy in the open field, he endeavoured to draw them into an ambush. With this view, he placed an hundred horsemen at the entrance of a wood, within which he had concealed the remainder of his troops, giving orders to the horse to counterfeit flight on the coming up of the enemy to draw them within reach of the ambushment. This scheme seemed at first to promise success, but in the end turned against its contriver. The Araucanians took to flight and were pursued by the Spaniards, who soon discovered that it was only a stratagem, and turned back accordingly as if struck with a panic, in hopes of decoying the enemy to quit the wood and attack them in the open field. Not aware of this repetition of their own trick, the Araucanians fell into the snare they had laid for their enemies; and being surrounded on every side, were mostly cut in pieces together with their commander, after selling their lives at a dear rate, a small remnant taking refuge in the marshes from the pursuit of the victors.

These repeated victories certainly cost much blood to the Spaniards, as the governor after this last action withdrew to St Jago to await the reinforcements he expected from Peru, and to raise as many recruits as possible in the northern provinces of Chili. As the reinforcements did not appear to him sufficient for continuing the war with a reasonable prospect of ultimate success, he even went into Peru in person to solicit more effectual succours, leaving the charge of the civil government during his absence to the licentiate Pedro Viscarra, and the command of the army to the quarter-master. On his arrival at Lima, Sotomayor met with a successor who had been appointed to the government of Chili by the court of Spain. This was Don Martin Loyola, nephew of St Ignatius, the celebrated founder of the order of the Jesuits, who had acquired the favour of the viceroy of Peru by taking prisoner Tupac Amuru the last Inca of Peru. In requital for this service, he was not only gratified by being appointed to the government of Chili, but was rewarded by obtaining in marriage the princess or *coya* Donna Clara Beatrix, the only daughter and sole heiress of the former Inca Sayri Tupac. Loyola arrived at Valparaiso in 1593, with a respectable

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body of troops, and immediately proceeded to St Jago, where he was received with every demonstration of joy by the citizens; but during his administration the Spaniards experienced the severest disaster that had ever happened to them in Chili.

After the defeat and death of Paillaeco, the Araucanians elected Paillamachu to the supreme command, who was hereditary toqui or prince of the second Uthulmapu. This military dictator was already much advanced in years, yet a man of wonderful activity and resources, and was so fortunate in his enterprises that he far surpassed all his predecessors in military glory, and had the singular felicity of restoring his country to its ancient independence by the entire expulsion of the Spaniards from its territories. Immediately on his elevation to the supreme dignity of toqui, he appointed two officers of great valour and merit, Pelantaru and Millacalquin to the important employments of vice-toqui, deviating from the usual custom of the nation, which allowed only of one lieutenant-general. And, as the military force of the confederacy had been greatly diminished by the late unfortunate incidents in the war, he followed the example of Antiguenu, a former toqui, by withdrawing into the almost inaccessible marshes of Lumaco, where he used his utmost efforts to collect and discipline an army for the execution of the extensive plans he had formed for the entire liberation of his country.

After having regulated the police of the capital and the civil government of the kingdom of Chili, Loyola proceeded to the city of Conception, where he established his head-quarters in order to be at hand for conducting the operations of the war. The toqui of the Araucanians, on hearing of his arrival, sent an intelligent and sagacious officer named Antipillan to compliment him, but charged at the same time to obtain information of his character and designs. In frequent conferences with this person, the new governor endeavoured to impress him with an idea of the vast power and immense resources of the Spanish monarchy, against which it was impossible as he said for the Araucanians to contend successfully, and insinuated therefore the necessity of their submitting to an accommodation. Pretending to be convinced by the reasoning of Loyola, the ambassador acknowledged the prodigious power of the Spanish monarchy in comparison with the Araucanian state; which, notwithstanding the vast disproportion, had hitherto been able to resist

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every effort of the Spaniards. He acknowledged even the propriety of his nation entering into negociations for peace, but alleged that the Spaniards affixed wrong ideas to that word; as, under the semblance of peace, they sought to subject the Araucanians to their authority, which they would never agree to while one of them remained alive. And finally, that the only peace to which they would consent, must consist of an entire cessation of hostilities, a complete restoration of all the lands which were occupied by the Spaniards within the Araucanian territory, and an explicit renunciation of every pretence to controul or interfere with their independent rights.

As Loyola was of a generous disposition, he could not avoid admiring the noble and enlightened sentiments of the barbarian ambassador, and dismissed him with the strongest demonstrations of esteem. Yet so far was he from any idea of abandoning the posts already established in the Araucanian territory, that he crossed the Biobio in 1594, and founded a new city at a short distance from that river, giving it the name of Coya in honour of his wife a Peruvian princess. This place was intended to protect the rich gold mines of Kilacoyan, and to serve as a place of retreat for the inhabitants of Angol in case of need; and in order to render it more secure, he constructed two castles in its immediate neighbourhood, named Jesus and Chivecura, on either shore of the Biobio. Solicitous to destroy this new settlement, which he considered as a disgrace to his administration, Paillamachu sent in 1595, one of his officers named Loncothequa, with orders to destroy the fort of Jesus. After twice penetrating within the works, and even burning a part of the interior buildings of this place, Loncothequa lost his life without being able to accomplish the enterprise.

In 1596, the toqui made frequent incursions into all the Spanish districts, both within and adjoining the Araucanian territory, on purpose to subsist his troops and to inure them to a military life. The Spanish army attempted in vain to prevent or pursue these predatory detachments, as the wary Paillamachu took the utmost care to avoid any encounter, determined to reserve his force for some favourable occasion. On purpose to restrain these incursions, Loyola erected two additional forts in the neighbourhood of the encampment or head-quarters of the toqui, one on the scite of the old fort of Puren, and the other on the borders of the marshes of Lumaco, which he garrisoned with the greater part of a re-

inforcement of troops which he had just received from Peru. He sent the remainder of these in 1597 to the province of Cujo, where they founded a new city, called San Luis de Loyola, which still subsists in a miserable condition, though placed in a very advantageous situation.

The fort of Lumaco was soon afterwards taken by storm, by the toqui in person, who gave orders to two of his officers to reduce that of Puren. In ten days they reduced the garrison to the last extremity, but had to desist from the enterprise by the approach of a reinforcement under the command of Pedro Cortes, a Spanish officer who acquired great reputation in the Araucanian war. The governor Loyola arrived there soon afterwards with his army, and gave orders to demolish the fortifications and to remove the garrison to Angol, lest it might experience a similar fate with what had so recently happened to the fort of Lumaco. He then proceeded to Imperial, Villarica and Valdivia, the fortifications of which places he carefully repaired, to secure them against the increasing strength of the enemy, and then returned towards the Biobio under the security of an escort of three hundred men. As soon as he thought himself in a place of security, he ordered back the escort, retaining only along with himself and family sixty-two half-pay officers and three Franciscan friars. Paillamachu had secretly followed and watched all the motions of the governor, and concluded that he had now found a favourable opportunity to attack him. Finding him accordingly encamped in the pleasant valley of Caralava, he attacked him with a select band of two hundred Araucanians, on the night of the 22d November 1598, and slew Loyola and all his retinue.

It would appear that Paillamachu had formed confident hopes in the successful issue of this bold enterprise, and that it had been long concerted; as, in consequence of his instructions, the whole provinces of the Araucanian confederacy, and their allies the Cunches and Huilliches, were in arms in less than forty-eight hours after the slaughter of Loyola. In the whole of that country, from the Biobio to the archipelago of Chiloé, every Spaniard who had the misfortune to be found without the garrisons was put to death; and the cities and fortresses of Osorno, Valdivia, Villarica, Imperial, Canete, Angol, and Arauco, were all invested at the same time by close blockades. Paillamachu had even the boldness to cross the Biobio, burned the cities of Conception and Chillan, laid

waste

waste the provinces under their dependence, and returned into Araucania loaded with spoil.

On the first intelligence of these melancholy events, the inhabitants of St Jago were filled with consternation and despair, and were almost unanimously of opinion to abandon Chili and take refuge in Peru. Yet, having some confidence in Pedro de Viscara, an officer of reputation then beyond seventy years of age, they assembled in council and prevailed on him to assume the government of the kingdom till the court might appoint a successor to Loyola. Viscara, having collected all the troops that could be procured, began his march for the frontiers in 1599, and had even the courage to cross the Biobio in the face of the enemy, and withdrew the inhabitants from Angol and Coya, with whom he repeopled the cities of Conception and Chillan. The government of Viscara only continued for six months; as on learning the perilous situation of Chili, the viceroy of Peru sent Don Francisco Quinones thither as governor, with a numerous reinforcement of soldiers and a large supply of military stores. The new governor had several indecisive actions with the toqui to the north of the river Biobio, to which the Araucanians had gone on purpose to ravage the southern provinces of Spanish Chili. The most important of these was in the plain of Yumbal. The toqui was on his return into the south from a successful inroad at the head of two thousand men, and with a great number of cattle of all kinds which he had taken in the province of Chillan, and Quinones attempted to intercept his retreat with an equal force, the greater part of which consisted of Spanish troops. The two armies advanced with equal resolution, and the Spaniards attempted in vain to keep the Araucanians at a distance by a constant fire from eight field pieces and all their musquetry. They soon came to close quarters, and the battle continued with incredible fury for more than two hours, till night parted them; when Paillamachu took advantage of the darkness and repassed the Biobio. On this occasion, the governor made an improper display of severity, by ordering all his prisoners to be quartered and hung upon trees, which was much disapproved of by his officers, who, either from humanity or a motive of self-interest, urged him not to give the enemy a pretence for retaliating by similar cruelties. But Quinones obstinately adhered to an old maxim of endeavouring to conquer by means of terror, and was deaf to all their remonstrances.

monstrances. We are ignorant of the loss sustained by the Spaniards in this battle, but it must have been considerable, as Arauco and Canete were both immediately abandoned, and their inhabitants withdrawn to the city of Conception.

Paillamachu does not seem to have been at all disconcerted by the issue of the late battle, as he continued the sieges of the Spanish cities, and was himself in constant motion; sometimes encouraging by his presence the forces that were employed in blockading the cities, and at other times ravaging the Spanish provinces to the north of the Biobio, where he did infinite mischief. Having learnt that the siege of Valdivia had been raised by the officer whom he had entrusted with that enterprise, he hastened to that place with four thousand men, part cavalry, seventy of his infantry being armed with musquets which he had taken from the Spaniards in the late engagements. On the night of the 14th of November[12] he crossed the broad river of Calacala by swimming, unsuspected by the garrison, stormed the city at day-break, killed a great number of the inhabitants, and burnt the houses. He even attempted to gain possession of some vessels in the harbour, on board of which many of the inhabitants had taken refuge, but these escaped his fury by immediately setting sail. After this notable exploit, he returned in triumph into the north of Araucania with a booty of two millions of dollars, upwards of four hundred prisoners, and a considerable number of cannon; and rejoined Millacalquin, an officer to whom he had entrusted the defence of the Biobio during his absence.

Ten days after the destruction of Valdivia, Francisco del Campo arrived there by sea from Peru with a reinforcement of three hundred men; and finding it in ashes, he ineffectually endeavoured to introduce these succours into Osorno, Villarica,

12 According to Garcilasso, Valdivia was taken on the 24th of November 1599. In a letter from St Jago in Chili, dated in March 1600, and inserted in the Royal Commentaries of Peru, P. I. B. vii. Ch. xxv. the Araucanian army on this occasion is said to have amounted to 5000 men, 3000 of whom were horse. Of the foot, 200 were armed with coats of mail, and 70 with fire-arms, *as was said*. They surprised the city at day-break without the smallest alarm, there being only four men on guard, two of whom went the rounds, the Spaniards being lulled into security by some recent successes in two different incursions they had lately made into the country, which they had laid waste for eight leagues all around during twenty days. —E.

Villarica, and Imperial[13]. Amid so many misfortunes, an expedition of five ships from Holland arrived on the coast of Chili in 1660, which plundered the island of Chiloé and put the Spanish garrison to the sword. But on a part of their people landing in the island of Talca or Santa Maria[14], inhabited by the Araucanians, they were repulsed with the loss of twenty-three men, being probably mistaken for Spaniards.

Disgusted with a war which threatened such unfortunate consequences, Quinones solicited and obtained leave to resign the government of Chili, and was succeeded by Garcia Ramon who had long been quarter-master of the army in that kingdom. Great expectations were formed of success in the war against the Araucanians under his direction, from his long experience and thorough acquaintance with the manner in which the enemy carried on their warlike operations. But that experience induced him to conduct the war on prudent principles of defence, rather than to hazard the loss of that part of Chili which was subject to Spain. Although he received a reinforcement consisting of an entire regiment of veterans, under the command of Don Francisco de Ovalle, father to the historian of that name, he confined himself almost entirely to the defence of the frontier line upon the Biobio. Garcia Ramon was however soon superseded in the government by the appointment of Alonzo Rivera, an officer who had acquired considerable reputation in the wars in the low countries, and who now brought out a farther reinforcement of a regiment of veteran troops. On assuming the government, he established a number of additional forts on the river Biobio, to defend the frontiers, by which he greatly encouraged the Spanish colonists, who still entertained an idea of abandoning Chili to the enemy.

The populous and opulent city of Villarica, fell into the hands of the Araucanians in 1692, after a siege or blockade of two years and eleven months; and soon afterwards Imperial, the capital of the Spanish settlements beyond the Biobio, experienced a similar fate. The defence of this city was protracted for some months by the courage of a Spanish lady, named Donna Innes de Aguilera. Seeing the garrison quite dispirited by the long continuance of the siege, and ready

13 In the letter quoted from Garcilasso in the preceding note, Del Campo is said to have raised the siege of Osorno and to have performed other actions of happy consequence.—E.

14 St Mary's island is on the coast of Araucania, in lat. 37° S.—E.

ready to capitulate, she encouraged them to persist in its defence, and even directed all the operations in person; until at last, on a favourable opportunity offering, she escaped by sea with the bishop and most of the inhabitants. During this siege, she lost her husband and brothers, and her heroism was rewarded by the king with a pension of two thousand dollars.

Osorno, likewise a rich and populous city, soon followed; as the enemy, now freed from the attention they had hitherto given to Valdivia, Villarica and Imperial, were able to bring their whole force against that last possession of the Spaniards within the territories of the Araucanian confederacy. The sufferings endured by the garrison and inhabitants of Osorno are scarcely to be exceeded by those endured in the most celebrated sieges recorded in history. They were long obliged to subsist on the most loathsome food, having no other sustenance than the carcasses of dead horses; and when these failed on cats and dogs and the skins of beasts. Thus in little more than three years, all the settlements which had been established by Valdivia and his successors, between the river Biobio and the archipelago of Chiloé, and preserved at the expence of so much blood, were destroyed, and so effectually that hardly any vestiges of them now remain. None of them have been since rebuilt, as what is at present called Valdivia is nothing more than a garrison or fortified post. Though great numbers of the inhabitants of these cities perished in the defence of their walls, by famine or by the sword of the enemy, yet Spanish prisoners of all ranks were so numerous among the Araucanians, that almost every family had at least one to its share. The married Spaniards were mostly allowed to retain their wives, and the unmarried men were supplied with wives from among the women of the country; but the unmarried Spanish women were distributed among the chiefs of the Araucanians, who by their customs were permitted a plurality of wives. It is not a little remarkable that the mestees, or offspring of these marriages, became in the subsequent wars the most inveterate enemies of the Spaniards.

On this occasion likewise, the ransom and exchange of prisoners were permitted, by which means many of the Spaniards escaped from captivity. Yet some were induced, by love for the children they had by the native women, to remain captives during their lives. Some even of the Spaniards acquired

acquired the confidence and affection of the natives, by their pleasing manners, or by their skill in useful arts, and acquired advantageous establishments in the country. Among these, Don Basilio Roxas and Don Antonio Bascugnano, both of noble birth, acquired high reputation with the Araucanians, and both of them left interesting memoirs of the transactions of their times. Such of the Spaniards as happened to fall to the share of brutal masters, had much to suffer.

Paillamachu did not long continue to enjoy the applause of his countrymen, for having so successfully expelled the Spaniards from Araucania: He died about the end of the year 1603, and was succeeded by Huenecura, who had been bred to arms under his direction and example in the celebrated military school of Lumaco.

"Modern as is the History of America, it has had its full share of fable, and the city of Osorno has furnished the subject of one not less extraordinary than any of the rest, which is thus related in the twentieth volume of the *Seminario Erudito*[15].

"During the great effort of the Araucanians to recover their country from the Spaniards, Osorno resisted their arms with extraordinary vigour for six months. At the end of this period, the Spaniards repelled a general assault of the besiegers, and compelled them to abandon the blockade. Being afraid of another attack, the Spaniards retired about three or four leagues, to a peninsula at the foot of the Andes, formed by the lake from which the river Bueno issues. They there built a new city on the isthmus, which they secured with walls, bulwarks, moats and draw-bridges; and multiplied in process of time so as to be obliged to build another city on the opposite side of the lake, and their descendents still continue to occupy the same place. This people, called *Alcahuncas* by the Indians, are armed with lances, swords and daggers, but whether these are of iron or not, the person who discovered the existence of these cities had not been able to learn. They also use the *laque* or thong and ball with great dexterity, on which account they are much dreaded by their neighbours. They have also cannon, but no musquets. They retain the dress, complexion and beard of their Spanish ancestors. They used formerly to purchase salt from the Pehuenches,

15 This fabulous story of the new Osorno is contained in a note to Molina by the English Editor.—E.

Pehuenches, and even from the Indians who live under the Spanish government, which they paid for in silver, which occasioned so great a demand for that article in the Spanish settlements, that a loaf of salt used to sell at the price of an ox. Of late this demand has ceased, as they have found salt in abundance in their own country.

" A year only before this account was written, or in 177?, a man from Chiloé got to the city gates one morning before the drawbridge was lifted, and knocked for admittance. The soldier who was on guard told him to hasten back as fast as possible, as their king was a cruel tyrant, and would certainly put him to death if taken; and even seemed astonished that the Indians had permitted him to arrive at the gate. This man was killed on his way back; but the news of his adventure reached Valdivia, where it was fully believed. It is said that the people of these two cities live under a grievous tyranny, and are therefore desirous of making their situation known to the Spaniards; but that their chiefs use every possible precaution to prevent this, and the Indians of the intervening country are equally solicitous to prevent any intelligence respecting this state being conveyed to the Spaniards, lest it might induce them to make new attempts to penetrate into the interior.

" This account is said to have been written in 1774, by Don Ignacio Pinuer, captain of infantry and interpreter general at Valdivia, in a letter addressed to the president of Chili. The writer states that his thorough knowledge of the language of the natives, and his great intimacy with them, had enabled him to collect this information, by means of the artful and persevering inquiries of twenty-eight years[16].

" In the reign of the Emperor Charles V. the bishop of Placentia is said to have sent four ships to the Moluccas. When they had advanced about twenty leagues within the Straits of Magellan, three of them were wrecked, and the fourth was driven back into the southern Atlantic. When the storm abated, this fourth ship again attempted the passage, and

16 This absurd story evidently belongs to the same class with the *Seven cities* formerly mentioned, and the *El Dorado* and *Welsh* colony, which will both occur in the sequel of this work. Though not exactly connected in point of time with this fabled city of Osorno, a similar fable respecting a supposed white nation in the interior of Chili, may be noticed in this place, the reflections on which, in the paragraphs subjoined, give a clear explanation of the origin of several of these tales.—E.

and reached the place where the others were lost, where they found the men still on shore, who entreated to be taken on board; but as there was neither room nor provision for so great a number, they were necessarily left. An opinion long prevailed that they had penetrated into the interior of Chili, where they settled and became a nation called the *Cesares*, whose very ploughshares were said to be of gold. Adventurers reported that they had been near enough to hear the sound of their bells; and it was even said that men of a fair complexion had been made prisoners, who were supposed to belong to this nation. The existence of this city of the Cesares was long believed, and even about the year 1620, Don Geronimo Luis de Cabrera, then governor of Peru, made an expedition in search of this *El Dorado* of Chili. Even after Feyjo had attempted to disprove its existence, the jesuit Mascardi went in search of it with a large party of Puelches, but was killed by the Poy-yas on his return from the fruitless quest[17].

"The groundwork of this and other similar fables is thus satisfactorily explained by Falkner[18].—'I am satisfied that the reports concerning a nation in the interior of South America descended from Europeans, or the remains of shipwrecks, are entirely false and groundless, and occasioned by misunderstanding the accounts given by the Indians. When asked in Chili respecting any settlement of the Spaniards in the inland country, they certainly give accounts of towns and white people, meaning Buenos Ayres, and other places to the eastwards of the Andes. And *vice versa*, on being asked in the east the same question, their answers refer to Chili or Peru; not having the least idea that the inhabitants of these distant countries are known to each other. Upon questioning some Indians on this subject, I found my conjecture perfectly right; and they acknowledged, when I named Chiloé, Valdivia, and other places in Chili, that these were the places they alluded to under the description of European settlements, and seemed amazed that I should know that such places existed."

SECTION

17 Dobrizhoffer, III. 407.
18 Falkner, Ch. iv. p. 112.

SECTION X.

Farther Narrative of the War, to the Conclusion of Peace with the Araucanians.

WHILE Alonzo Rivera applied himself with every possible energy to check the progress of the Araucanians and to guard the frontier of the Biobio, he was removed from the government of Chili to that of Tucuman, as a punishment for having presumed to marry the daughter of the celebrated heroine Innes Aguilera, without having obtained the royal permission. On this occasion Garcia Ramon was reinstated in the government, and received at the same time with his commission a reinforcement of a thousand men from Europe and two hundred and fifty from Mexico. Being now at the head of three thousand regular troops, besides a considerable auxiliary force, he invaded Araucania and penetrated without opposition into the province of Boroa[1] where he erected a fort, which he furnished with a considerable number of cannon, and in which he left a garrison of three hundred men under the command of Lisperger, a German officer formerly mentioned.

Immediately after the return of the invading army into Spanish Chili, the new toqui Huenecura proceeded to attack this new establishment. While on his march he fell in with Lisperger, who had gone out from the fort at the head of an hundred and sixty of his men to protect a convoy; and immediately attacked the Spaniards with such fury that he cut the whole detachment in pieces, and the commander among the rest. After this first successful essay of his arms, he proceeded without delay against the fort, which he made three several attempts to take by storm; but was repelled with so much skill and valour by Gil Negrete, who had succeeded Lisperger in the command, that after an obstinate combat of two hours he was obliged to desist from the attempt to storm, and established a close blockade. This was continued till the governor Ramon sent orders for the garrison to evacuate the place. The Spanish army was now divided-

1 The province of Boroa, formerly mentioned as the residence of a tribe much whiter in their colour than the other natives of South America, lies at the foot of the Andes between the heads of the rivers Hueço and Tolten, to the eastward of the ruins of Villarica.—E.

ed into two separate bodies, one under the command of Alvaro Pineda the quarter-master of Chili, and the other under the orders of Don Diego Saravia, who proceeded to lay waste the Araucanian territory without mercy. Watching his opportunity however, Huenecura attacked and defeated them in succession, and with such complete success that not even a single person of either detachment escaped death or captivity. By these unexpected misfortunes, that fine army on which such flattering hopes of security at least, if not conquest, had been founded, was entirely annihilated. In consequence of these repeated and heavy disasters, orders were given by the court of Spain, that a body of two thousand regular troops should be continually maintained on the Araucanian frontier; for the support of which force, an annual appropriation of 292,279 dollars was made from the royal treasury of Peru. At the same time the court of royal audience was re-established in the city of St Jago on the 8th of September 1609, after having been thirty-four years suppressed. This measure gave universal satisfaction to the inhabitants, and the court has continued there ever since with high reputation for justice and integrity.

By this new regulation, Ramon added the title of president to those of governor and captain-general of Chili. Having received considerable reinforcements, to replace the army so lately destroyed, Ramon ventured to recross the Biobio at the head of about two thousand men. Huenecura advanced to meet him, and a sanguinary and obstinate battle took place in the defiles of the marshes of Lumaco. The Spaniards were for some time in imminent danger of being completely defeated; but the valiant governor, taking his station in the front line, so animated his soldiers by his presence and example that they at length succeeded in breaking and defeating the enemy. Shortly after this victory, Ramon died in the city of Conception, on the 10th of August 1610, universally regretted by the Spanish inhabitants of Chili, to whom he was much endeared by his excellent qualities and his long residence among them. He was even highly esteemed by the Araucanians, whom he had always treated, when prisoners, with a humane attention which did him much honour. According to the royal decree for establishing the court of audience, the government of Chili now devolved upon Don Luis Merlo de la Fuente, the eldest oydor or judge.

Much about the same time with Ramon, the toqui Huenecura

cura likewise died, either from disease or in consequence of wounds received in the late battle. He was succeeded in the toquiate by Aillavilu the second, who is represented by Don Basilio Roxas, a contemporary writer, as one of the greatest of the Araucanian generals, and as having fought many battles against Merlo and his successor Don Juan Xaraquemada; but he does not particularize either their dates, the places where they were fought, or any circumstances concerning them.

Among the missionaries who were at that time employed for the conversion of the natives in Chili, was a Jesuit named Luis Valdivia, who, finding it impossible to preach to the Araucanians during the continuance of war, went to Spain and represented in strong terms to Philip III. the great injury suffered by the cause of religion in consequence of this long and cruel war. That weak prince was more devoted to the advancement of religion than to the augmentation of his territories, and sent immediate orders to the government of Chili to discontinue the war, and to settle a permanent peace with the Araucanians, by establishing the river Biobio as the frontier between the two nations. On purpose to secure the punctual execution of these orders, the king offered to exalt Valdivia to the episcopal dignity, and to appoint him governor of Chili. He refused both of these high offers, and only stipulated for the restoration of Alonzo Rivera to the government, whose views were conformable with his own, and who had been exiled to Tucuman as formerly mentioned.

Much gratified with the prosperous issue of his voyage, the zealous missionary returned to Chili in 1612, carrying a letter written by the king of Spain to the national assembly of the Araucanian chiefs, recommending the establishment of peace between the nations, and that they should promote the propagation of Christianity among their dependents. Immediately on his arrival in Chili, Valdivia hastened to the frontiers, and communicated the nature of the commission with which he was entrusted to the Araucanians, by means of some prisoners of that nation whom he had purposely brought with him from Peru. Aillavilu the toqui gave little attention to the proposed negociation, which he deemed a feint for deceiving and surprising him. But, as he died or resigned the command soon after, his successor Ancanamon thought proper to inquire into the reality of the pacific proposals, and directed the ulmen Carampangui to converse with Valdivia,

divia, that his offers might be laid before a general assembly of the ulmens. Accordingly, on the invitation of Carampangui, Valdivia repaired to Nancu in the province of Catiray, where, in an assembly of fifty Araucanian chiefs, he made known the substance of the proposed pacific negociations, read and expounded the royal letter to the Araucanian confederacy, and made a long oration on the motives of his interference and on the important concerns of their immortal souls. The assembly thanked him for his exertions, and promised to make a favourable report to the toqui. On his return to Conception, Valdivia was accompanied by Carampangui, where he was honourably received by the governor; who dispatched Pedro Melendez one of his ensigns, under the safeguard of the ulmen, on a message to the toqui, carrying with him the letter of the king of Spain, and a request that Ancanamon would meet him at Paicavi, a place near the frontiers, that they might confer together upon the preliminaries of peace.

The toqui soon afterwards came to the place appointed, with a small guard of forty soldiers, and accompanied by several ulmens, bringing likewise along with him a number of Spanish prisoners of the first families, whom he set at liberty. The governor, with Valdivia and the principal officers of the government, received Ancanamon with every demonstration of respect, and conducted him to the lodgings appointed for his reception amid the repeated discharges of artillery. The governor then proposed, as preliminary articles of peace, that the river Biobio should serve hereafter as the common boundary between the Spanish and Araucanian nations, beyond which neither should be permitted to pass with an army: That all deserters should in future be mutually returned: And that missionaries should be allowed to preach the doctrines of Christianity in the Araucanian territories. Ancanamon required as a preliminary, that the forts of Paicavi and Arauco, which had been lately erected upon the sea coast to the south of the Biobio, should be evacuated. The governor immediately abandoned Paicavi, and agreed to give up the other immediately after the conclusion of peace. Being so far agreed, and as the consent of the four toquis of the uthalmapus was requisite to ratify the treaty, Ancanamon proposed to seek for them in person, and to bring them to the Spanish camp.

While the negociation was in this state of forwardness, an

unlooked for event rendered all these pacific measures abortive. Ancanamon had a Spanish lady among his wives, who, taking advantage of his absence, fled for refuge to the governor, accompanied by four other women who were wives to the toqui, and two young girls his daughters. The toqui was extremely indignant on this occasion, though less exasperated by the flight of his wives, than by the kind reception they had experienced among the Spaniards. Relinquishing every thought of peace, he immediately returned to the governor, from whom he demanded the restitution of the fugitives. His demand was taken into consideration by a council of the officers; but the majority of these, many of whom were averse to peace, refused to surrender the women to the toqui, alleging that they were unwilling to expose them to the danger of relapsing from the Christian faith which they had embraced. After many ineffectual propositions, Ancanamon consented to limit his demands to the restitution of his daughters, whom he tenderly loved. To this it was answered, that as the eldest had not yet embraced the Christian faith, his request respecting her would be complied with, but as the younger had been already baptised, they could not think of delivering her into his hands.

At this time the almost extinguished hopes of peace were revived for a time by an unexpected incident. *Utiflame*, the apo-ulmen of Ilicura near Imperial, had always been among the most inveterate enemies of the Spaniards, and to avoid all intercourse with them, had constantly refused to ransom his sons or relations who happened to be made prisoners. He prided himself on having so successfully opposed all the Spanish governors of Chili, from the elder Villagran to Rivera, that the enemy had never been able to acquire a footing in his province, though near the city of Imperial. One of his sons who had been taken in the late war, was about this time sent back to him by Valdivia, in consequence of which he was so highly gratified, that he went immediately to visit the missionary at the fort of Arauco, where in return for the civilities he experienced from the governor and Valdivia, he engaged to receive the missionaries into his province, and to use his influence with Ancanamon to conclude a peace with the Spaniards. He observed, however, that it was necessary in the first place to restore his women, which could be done with safety by obtaining in the first place a safe conduct from the toqui, and undertook to manage the business. He ac-

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cordingly departed from Arauco for Ilicura, accompanied by three missionaries, one of whom was Horatio Vecchio, the cousin of Pope Alexander VII. The exasperated toqui no sooner learnt the arrival of the missionaries at Ilicura, than he hastened to that place with two hundred horse, and slew them all with their defender Utiflame. Thus were all the plans of pacification rendered abortive, though Valdivia used repeated attempts to revive the negociation. All his schemes were disconcerted by the contrivances of the officers and soldiers, who were interested in the continuance of the war, and loudly demanded that vengeance should be taken for the blood of the slaughtered priests. Notwithstanding his anxious desire for peace and the pious intentions of the king, the governor found himself compelled to prosecute the war, which was renewed with more fury than ever. Ancanamon the toqui, being eager to revenge the affront he had received in regard to his women, incessantly harassed the southern provinces of Spanish Chili, and his successor Loncothegua continued hostilities with equal obstinacy; but only very imperfect accounts of this period of the war have been given by the contemporary historians. The governor Rivera died at Conception in 1617, having appointed as his successor Fernando Talaverano the senior oydor of the royal court; who was succeeded ten months afterwards by Lope de Ulloa.

The toqui Loncothegua resigned in 1618, and was succeeded in the supreme command of the Araucanian armies by an officer named Lientur, whose military expeditions were always so rapid and unexpected, that the Spaniards used to call him the wizard. All his designs were perfectly seconded by Levipillan, his vice toqui. Though the line of the Biobio was amply secured by fortresses and centinels, these indefatigable enemies always contrived to pass and repass without experiencing any material loss. The first enterprise of Lientur was the capture of a convoy of four hundred horses, which were intended to remount the Spanish cavalry. He next ravaged the province of Chillan, and slew the corregidor with two of his sons and several of the magistrates, who had attempted to resist him in the field. Five days afterwards, he proceeded towards St Philip of Austria, otherwise called Yumbel, a place about sixty miles to the east of Conception, with six hundred infantry and four hundred horse, all of whom he sent out in various detachments to ravage the surrounding country, leaving only two hundred men to guard the

the narrow defile of Congrejeras. Provoked at this daring enterprise, Robolledo, the commandant of Yumbel, sent seventy horse to take possession of the pass and cut off the retreat of the toqui; but they were received with such bravery by the Araucanian detachment, that they were compelled to retire for security to a neighbouring hill, after losing their captain and eighteen of their number. Robolledo sent three companies of infantry and all the rest of his cavalry to their aid; but Lientur, who had by this time collected all his troops together, fell upon the Spaniards, notwithstanding the continual fire of their musquetry, and put their cavalry to flight at the first charge. The infantry, thus left exposed, were almost all cut to pieces, thirty-six of them only being made prisoners, who were distributed among the several provinces of the Araucanian confederacy. If Lientur had then invested Yumbel it must have fallen into his hands; but he deferred the siege till the following year, when his attempt was rendered unsuccessful by the valiant defence of Ximenes, who then had the command. On his repulse however, he assaulted and took a fort named Neculguenu, the garrison of which was put to the sword, and all the auxiliaries who dwelt in that neighbourhood were made prisoners. Lientur followed up these successful exploits with others equally fortunate, which are not particularized by contemporary writers, who have given him the title of the *darling of fortune.*

Ulloa the governor, more a prey to anxiety and mortification than disease, died on the 20th of November 1620, and was succeeded in the government of Chili by Christoval de la Cerda, a native of Mexico, the eldest oydor, according to the established rule on such occasions. For the more effectual defence of the frontiers on the Biobio, he caused an additional fortress to be constructed, named San Christoval, which still remains. This oydor continued only a year in the government, during which he was continually occupied in defending the Spanish settlements against the enterprises of Lientur, with whom he had many encounters. His successor, Pedro Suarez de Ulloa, continued the war in a similar manner, contenting himself with acting principally on the defensive, till his death on the 11th of December 1624; when he was succeeded by Francisco Alava, his brother-in-law, who retained the office only for six months, being succeeded by Don Luis de Cordova, in March 1625.

Lientur being advanced in years and worn out by continual exertions,

exertions, resigned his office in 1625, and was succeeded as toqui by Putapichion, a young man whose courage and conduct much resembled his predecessor in office. The new governor of Chili was a commander of extraordinary skill and courage, and being nephew to the viceroy of Peru, was abundantly supplied with troops and warlike stores, being likewise directed by his instructions not to confine himself to defensive operations, but to carry the war into the Araucanian territory. His first care on his arrival at Conception, was to restore the military discipline, and to discharge all arrears that were due to the troops. He at the same time preferred a number of Creoles to the vacant offices, by which he acquired the esteem of all the inhabitants, and gratified many of the descendents of the original conquerors who had been hitherto much neglected. Having established good order in the government, he directed Alonzo de Cordova, whom he had appointed quarter-master, to make an incursion with six hundred men into the provinces of Arauco and Tucapel. In this expedition only an hundred and fifteen prisoners were taken and a small number of cattle, as most of the inhabitants took refuge in the mountains with their families and effects.

In the mean time the new toqui, Putapichion, endeavoured to signalize the commencement of his administration by the capture of the fort of Nativity, one of the strongest places on the Biobio, which was constructed on the top of a high and steep mountain, well furnished with troops and artillery, and both from its natural and artificial strength was deemed impregnable. Putapichion came unexpectedly against this place, and soon scaling the difficult ascent, got possession of the ditch, set fire to the palisades and houses of the place with fire arrows, and very nearly succeeded in its capture. But the garrison collected in the only bastion which had escaped the flames, whence they kept up so severe a fire against the assailants, that Putapichion was constrained to abandon the enterprise, carrying away with him twelve prisoners and several horses. The toqui then crossed the Biobio and made an attempt upon the fort of Quinel, which was occupied by six hundred men; but failing also in this enterprise, he made an inroad into the province of Chillan, whence he brought off a great number of peasants and cattle, in spite of the exertions of the serjeant-major to stop his rapid march. Eager for retaliation, the governor resolved in 1628, to invade Arau-

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cania in three directions, assigning the maritime country to the quarter-master, the Andes to the serjeant-major, and reserving the intermediate country to himself. Accordingly, at the head of twelve hundred regulars and a strong body of auxiliaries, he traversed the provinces of Encol and Puren, where he captured a great number of men and cattle; and, having crossed the river Cauten, he ravaged in a similar manner to the rich province of Maguegua. On his return from this successful expedition, Putapichion opposed him at the head of three thousand men in order of battle. In the first encounter, the Spanish army was thrown into confusion and suffered a severe loss; but, being rallied by the exertions of their officers, they renewed the battle, which was severely contested for some time, with considerable loss on both sides. As the Araucanians had recovered most of the spoil, and taken some prisoners while the Spanish army was in disorder, the toqui did not think proper to risk too much on the event of battle, and sounded a retreat. On his return to Conception, the governor was rejoined by the serjeant-major and quarter-master. The former had not been able to effect any thing of importance, as the enemy had taken refuge in the mountains. The latter reported that he had made two hundred prisoners, and had acquired a booty of seven thousand horses and a thousand head of cattle, but had the misfortune to lose most of them during a violent tempest while on his return.

Don Francisco Lasso, an officer who had gained high reputation in the wars of the low countries, arrived soon afterwards with a commission to supersede Cordova in the government of Chili. At the commencement of his administration, he endeavoured to come to an accommodation with the Araucanians, with which view he set at liberty all the prisoners of that nation who were confined in the different garrisons. But the minds of that high-spirited people were not yet disposed towards peace, and the glory of bringing about that desirable event was reserved for his successor; yet Lasso certainly contributed to prepare the way for peace, by the ten years of uninterrupted war which he waged against the Araucanians, in consequence of their rejecting his pacific overtures, during which he gained many victories over that valiant people. At the commencement however of his military operations, Lasso was by no means fortunate. The quarter-master, Cordova, while

while advancing by his orders to invade the maritime provinces of Araucania, was completely routed by Putapichion in the small district of Piculgue near Arauco. The toqui placed a part of his army in ambush, and contrived with much skill to induce Cordova to give battle in an unfavourable situation. In this action, the Spanish horse, forming the van of the army, was unable to withstand the charge of the Araucanian cavalry, now become exceedingly expert, and was put to flight; and the infantry being thus left exposed and surrounded on all sides, was entirely destroyed after a combat of five hours, during which they performed prodigies of valour, and gallantly resisted many furious assaults of the enemy. In this action Cordova was slain, with five captains, and several other officers of merit.

On receiving intelligence of this disastrous action, the governor marched in person against Putapichion with a considerable body of troops, leaving Robolledo the serjeant-major to defend the passage of the Biobio against the enterprises of the toqui; who yet eluded the vigilance of the serjeant-major, passed the Biobio with a detachment of two hundred men, and laid waste the neighbouring provinces of Chili in the absence of the Spanish army. Lasso immediately returned with all his troops to the Biobio, occupied all the known fords of that river, in hope of cutting off the retreat of the invaders, and then went in search of Putapichion with a select detachment equal in number to the enemy. In this expedition, he was attacked at a place called Robleria on the banks of the Itata by the toqui with such determined resolution, that the Spaniards gave way at the first encounter, forty of them with several officers being slain. The remainder owed their safety to the skill and valour of the governor, who restored their order with wonderful coolness and intrepidity, and even repulsed the enemy with considerable loss. Satisfied with the success he had already obtained, and proud of having taken the scarlet cloak of the governor, Putapichion now conducted his retreat to the Biobio with great skill, and got over that river unopposed.

On his return from this expedition, the toqui was received by his army with lively demonstrations of joy, and resolved to gratify his troops by reviving the almost forgotten festival called *pruloncon*, or the dance of death. A Spanish soldier, who had been made prisoner in one of the preceding battles, was

was selected for the victim of this barbarous spectacle [2]. "The officers surrounded by the soldiers form a circle, in the centre of which is placed the official axe of the toqui, with four poniards representing the four Uthalmapus of the confederacy. The unfortunate prisoner is then led in on a sorry horse deprived of his ears and tail, and is placed near the axe, having his face turned towards his own country. He is then ordered to dig a hole in the ground with a sharp stake, and is given a handful of small sticks, which he is ordered to throw one by one into the hole, naming one of the principal warriors of his nation at each stick, while the surrounding soldiers load these detested names with bitter execrations. He is then ordered to cover up the hole, as if to bury the valour and reputation of the persons whom he has named. After this, the toqui, or one of his bravest companions to whom he relinquishes the honour of being executioner, dashes out the brains of the prisoner with a war-club. The heart is immediately taken out by two attendants and presented still palpitating to the toqui, who sucks a little of the blood and passes it to his officers, who successively repeat the same ceremony. The toqui then fumigates the four cardinal points of the circle with tobacco smoke from his pipe. The soldiers strip the flesh from the bones of the victim, and convert the bones into flutes. The head is cut off and carried round on the point of a pike, amid the acclamations of the multitude, while stamping in measured pace, they thunder out their dreadful war-song accompanied by the mournful sound of their horrible instruments of music. The mangled body is fitted with the head of a sheep, and the barbarous festival is terminated by riot and intoxication. If the skull of the victim has not been broken by the stroke of death, it is made into a drinking cup, called *ralilonco*, which is used in their banquets in the manner of the ancient Scythians and Goths."

On the present occasion, the honour of dispatching the victim was conferred upon the ulmen Maulican. This cruel spectacle, which some have attempted to excuse on the principle of retaliation, has dishonoured the fame of Putapichicn, and was not even pleasing to all the Araucanians [3]. According to

2 The particulars of this ceremony are here inserted from a different part of the work of Molina, B. I. Ch. iv. containing an account of the manners and customs of the Araucanians.—E.

3 It certainly was not more cruel or more dishonourable than the empalements and mutilations ordered by the Christian enemies of the Araucanians: But

to Don Francisco Buscagnan, who was an eye witness, many of the spectators compassionated the fate of the unfortunate soldier; and Maulican, to whom the office of dispatching him was assigned as a mark of honour, is said to have declared that he accepted of it with extreme reluctance, and merely to avoid offending his commander the toqui. The torture of an innocent prisoner, upon whatever motive or pretence, is certainly a crime against humanity of the deepest dye, and can never be justified on any principle whatever.

Having received a reinforcement of five hundred veteran soldiers from Peru, and raised two companies of infantry and a troop of cavalry at St Jago, the governor with these new troops, added to thirteen hundred Spaniards and six hundred auxiliaries composing the army on the frontiers, marched to relieve the fort of Arauco which was menaced by the toqui. Putapichion had in reality commenced his march for that place at the head of seven thousand chosen men, whose valour he thought nothing was able to resist. But in consequence of some superstitious auguries of the ex-toqui Lientur, who had resolved to share the glory of this enterprise, the greater part of the Araucanian troops were intimidated, and deserted to their homes during the march. Putapichion was not discouraged by this defection, and observing that there could be no better omen in war than an eager desire to conquer, he continued his march with three thousand two hundred of his most determined followers, and encamped at a short distance from the fort of Arauco. Some of his officers advised him to assault the fort that same night; but he declined this to give his troops time for rest and refreshment, and that the Spaniards might not reproach him with always taking advantage of the darkness, like a robber, to favour his enterprises.

The governor, who was close at hand with his army, having resolved to offer battle to the enemy next day, ordered his men to prepare themselves for battle, and had a skirmish that night with an advanced party of the Araucanians, who had advanced so near the fort of Arauco as to burn the huts of the auxiliaries on the outside of the fortifications. At day-break, Lasso took possession with his army of a strong position called Alvarrada, which was defended on either flank by a deep torrent, so that it could not be turned. He placed all his

But the latter were unbelievers, and were rebels against the authority of the Catholic king and the grant of the holy father of the Christian world.—E.

his cavalry on the right, under the command of the quartermaster *Sea*, while the infantry on the left were under the orders of Rebolledo the serjeant-major. Putapichion advanced with his army in such excellent order, that the governor who had been all his life inured to arms, could not avoid openly expressing his admiration of the excellent disposition of the enemy. The Araucanian soldiers, whose heads were adorned with beautiful plumes of feathers, seemed as if going to a banquet, instead of the doubtful chance of battle. For some time the two armies remained motionless, as if observing each other; when at length the signal of attack was sounded by Quepuantu, the vice-toqui, by order of Putapichion. The governor then gave orders to the Spanish horse to charge that belonging to the enemy; but it met with so warm a reception, that it was broken and put to flight, and obliged to take shelter in the rear of the infantry. Upon this event, the Araucanian infantry made so violent a charge upon the Spanish foot as to throw them into confusion, insomuch that the governor gave up all for lost. At this critical moment Putapichion was slain; and the governor availed himself so effectually of the confusion which this circumstance produced among the Araucanians, that he was able to rally his troops, and led them up anew to the charge, while the Araucanians were solely intent upon carrying off the dead body of their toqui. They even effected this, but were completely defeated and driven in disorder from the field. Quepuantu, the vice-toqui, exerted himself in vain to restore order and to bring back his troops to the charge, even killing several of the fugitives with his own hand; but all his efforts were fruitless, and the Araucanians suffered prodigiously in their flight, being pursued for more than six miles in all directions. Many of the Spaniards fell in this battle, the most decisive that had been fought for a long time against the Araucanians.

From the death of Putapichion to the termination of the government of Lasso, the successive toquis of the Araucanians continued the war with more rashness than skill; none of them, like Antiguenu and Paillamachu, having sufficient judgment to repair the losses sustained by the nation, and to counterbalance the power and arms of the Spaniards by skill and conduct. Quepuantu, who was advanced to the rank of toqui after the defeat at Alvarrada, retired to a sequestered vale under the covert of thick woods, where he built a house with four opposite doors, to facilitate his escape

in

in case of being attacked. The place of his retirement having been discovered to the governor, he sent the quarter-master to surprise him with four hundred light armed troops. As these came upon him by surprise, Quepuantu took refuge in the wood; but soon returned at the head of fifty men who had come to his assistance, and attacked the Spaniards with great courage. After a desperate engagement of half an hour, in which the toqui lost almost all his men, he accepted a challenge from Loncomallu, chief of the auxiliaries attached to the Spaniards, and was slain after a long combat. In 1634, a similar fate befel his successor Loncamilla, in an engagement with a small number of Araucanian troops against a strong detachment of Spaniards. Guenucalquin, his successor, after making some successful inroads into the Spanish provinces, lost his life in an engagement with six hundred Spaniards in the province of Ilicura. Curanteo, who was created toqui in the heat of this action, had the glory of terminating it by the rout of the enemy; but was killed soon afterwards in another conflict. Curimilla, the next toqui, more daring than several of his predecessors, repeatedly ravaged the provinces to the north of the Biobio, and undertook the siege of Arauco and the other forts on the frontiers; but was slain at length by Sea in Calcoimo.

During the government of this toqui, the Dutch made another attempt to form an alliance with the Araucanians, in order to obtain possession of Chili, but with no better fortune than on the former occasion. Their squadron, consisting of four ships, was dispersed in a storm on its arrival on the coast in 1638. A boat well manned and armed, being afterwards dispatched to the island of Mocha, to enter into a parley with the Araucanians, was attacked by the inhabitants, who put all the crew to death and took possession of the boat. Another boat experienced a similar misfortune in the small island of Talca or Santa Maria, and the Dutch were obliged to retire without being able to establish any intercourse with the Araucanians, who were equally jealous of all the European nations, and not without reason. Some years afterwards, notwithstanding the ill success of the Dutch, a similar enterprise was undertaken by Sir John Narborough, an English naval commander, by order of Charles II. In passing through the Straits of Magellan, this whole fleet was lost.

In the mean time, taking advantage of the imprudence and unskilfulness of the Araucanian commanders, the governor

continued constantly to lay waste their territories. He had at first given orders that every prisoner capable of bearing arms should be put to death; but afterwards, recurring to more humane measures, he ordered them to be transported to Peru, a sentence to them more intolerable even than death. Whenever these unhappy exiles came in sight of land, which often happened in that navigation, they used to throw themselves overboard in hopes to escape by swimming, that they might return to their country. Many had the good fortune to save themselves in that manner; but such as were unable to elude the vigilance of the sailors, as soon as they were landed on the island or at the port of Callao, exposed themselves to every toil and danger to regain their beloved country, travelling with incredible perseverance and fatigue the immense extent of coast between that port and the Biobio. When the relations of the prisoners, more anxious to deliver them from the miseries of exile than even from death, frequently sent messages to the governor to negociate the ransom of such as were condemned to be sent to Peru, he always refused his consent, unless the nation would lay down their arms and submit to his authority. Laso was exceedingly anxious to perform a promise which he had made like several of his predecessors, of putting an end to the war, and used every possible effort for that purpose, for which no one was better fitted to succeed; but he had to contend against an invincible people, enthusiastically bent upon the preservation of their liberties. He employed every means that could be suggested by wise policy and profound military skill to effect their subjugation; now endeavouring to humble their pride by his victories, at other times ravaging their country with fire and sword, and endeavouring to restrain them by the establishment of fortresses in different parts of their territory. Among these, he founded a city not far from the ruins of Angol, to which he gave the name of San Francisco de la Vega, and left in it a garrison of four troops of horse and two companies of foot. But it was taken and destroyed in the same year in which it was built by the toqui Curimilla.

A great number of men were necessarily expended in the prosecution of this obstinate war, so that the Spanish army, though annually reinforced with numerous recruits from Peru, was diminished to less than a half of its force at the commencement of the government of Laso. On this account he sent over Don Francisco Avendano to Spain to solicit new

 reinforcements,

reinforcements, and with a promise of bringing the war to a conclusion in the course of two years. But, judging from the past that so successful an issue was little to be expected, the court sent out Don Francisco de Zuniga, Marquis of Baydes, as his successor, who had given unquestionable proofs of his political and military talents, both in Italy and Flanders, where he had executed the charge of quarter-master-general. On his arrival in Chili in 1640, either in consequence of private instructions from the prime minister, or of his own accord, Zuniga procured a personal conference with Lincopichion, who had been elected toqui on the death of Curimilla. Fortunately for the interests of humanity, both commanders were of the same disposition in wishing for peace, and equally averse from the continuance of the destructive war which had so long raged between their hostile nations. They readily agreed upon the most difficult articles in settling the preliminaries, and a day was appointed at the commencement of the following year for ratifying the conditions of a definitive peace between the nations.

Accordingly, on the 6th of January 1641, the marquis came to Quillin, the place of meeting, a village in the province of Puren, attended by a retinue of about ten thousand persons collected from all parts of Chili, who insisted to accompany him on this joyful occasion. Lincopichion came there likewise at the time appointed, accompanied by the four hereditary toquis of the Araucanians, and a great number of ulmens and other natives. Lincopichion opened the conference with an eloquent speech; and then, according to the customs of his nation, he killed a *chilihueque* or Araucanian camel, and sprinkling a branch of the *boighe* or Chilese cinnamon tree with its blood, he presented it to the governor in token of peace. The articles of the treaty of peace were next proposed, agreed to, and ratified, being similar to those formerly mentioned which had been accepted by Ancanamon, with the addition of one insisted upon by the marquis, that the Araucanians should not permit the landing of any strangers on their coast, nor furnish supplies to any foreign nation whatever. As this was entirely conformable to the political maxims of the Araucanian nation, it was readily agreed to, and the peace finally ratified and confirmed. Thus was an end put to a destructive and sanguinary war, which had desolated the possessions of the two nations for ninety years. This important negociation was closed by the sacrifice of twenty-eight

chilihueques,

chilihueques, and by an eloquent harangue from Antiguenu, the ulmen of the district where it was concluded, in which he enlarged on the advantages which both nations would reap from the establishment of peace. After this, the two chiefs cordially embraced, and congratulated each other on the happy termination of their joint endeavours. They then dined together, and made mutual presents to each other, and the three succeeding days were spent by both nations in festivities and rejoicing.

In consequence of this pacification, all prisoners were released on both sides, and the Spaniards had the satisfaction of receiving, among many others, forty-two of their countrymen who had been in captivity ever since the time of the toqui Paillamachu. Commerce, the inseparable concomitant of a good understanding among neighbouring nations, was established between the Spaniards and Araucanians. The lands near the frontiers on both sides, which had been deserted and laid waste by the mutual hostile incursions, were repeopled, and a new activity was excerted in their cultivation by the proprietors, who could now enjoy the produce in tranquillity and safety. The hopes of disseminating the truths of Christianity among the infidels were again revived, and the missionaries began freely to exercise their beneficent functions among the inhabitants of Araucania. Notwithstanding the manifold advantages of peace to both nations, there were some unquiet spirits, both among the Araucanians and Spaniards who used their endeavours on specious pretences to prevent its ratification The Araucanian malecontents alleged that it was merely a trick to deceive their nation, in order to conquer them at a future opportunity with the more facility, when they had become unaccustomed to the use of arms. Those of the Spaniards, on the contrary, who were adverse to peace, pretended that by the establishment of peace, the population of the Araucanians would increase so fast that they would soon be able to destroy all the Spanish establishments in Chili. Some of these had even the audacity to cry *to arms*, and endeavoured to instigate the auxiliaries to commence hostilities, while the conferences were going on. But the marquis had the wisdom and good fortune to prevent the renewal of the war, by justifying the purity and good faith of his intentions to the evil disposed among the Araucanians, and by reprimanding and keeping in awe the malecontent Spaniards,

Spaniards, and finally accomplished this glorious measure, which was approved and ratified by the court of Spain.

Two years after the peace, in 1643, the importance of the article which the marquis procured to be inserted into this treaty was rendered very apparent to the Spaniards, by its contributing materially to the failure of a third and last attempt by the Dutch to acquire possession of Chili. On this occasion their measures were so well taken, that if they had been seconded by the Araucanians they must have infallibly succeeded. They fitted out a numerous fleet, well provided with men, artillery, and military stores from Brasil, and took possession of Valdivia which had been deserted by the Spaniards for more than forty years, and at which place they intended to form an establishment from whence to conquer the rest of the kingdom. With this view, they immediately began to build strong forts at the entrance of the river, in order to secure possession of that important port, and invited the Araucanians to join them by the most flattering promises. But that gallant nation steadily refused to listen to the proposals, and adhering honourably to the stipulations in the treaty of Quillin, absolutely refused to supply them with provisions, of which they were much in want. The Cunchese, in whose territories Valdivia was situated, in consequence of the counsels of their Araucanian allies, likewise refused to enter into any connection or correspondence with the Dutch, or to supply them with provisions. In consequence of this refusal, being pressed by famine, and hearing that a combined army of Spaniards and Araucanians was in full march against them, the Dutch were compelled to abandon Valdivia in three months after taking possession. Soon after their retreat, the Marquis de Mancura, son to the viceroy of Peru, arrived at Valdivia in search of the Dutch with ten ships of war. To prevent the recurrence of a similar attempt, he fortified the harbour, and particularly the island at its entrance, which has ever since borne the name of his family title.

On the termination of the sixth year of his pacific government, the Marquis de Baydes was recalled from Chili, and Don Martin Muxica appointed governor in his place. He likewise succeeded in preserving the kingdom in a state of tranquillity; and the only unfortunate circumstance that occurred during his government was a violent earthquake, by which part of the city of St Jago was destroyed on the 8th of May 1647. His successor, Don Antonio de Acugna, had a

very different fortune, as during his government the war was excited anew between the Spaniards and Araucanians, as will fall to be mentioned in the following section.

SECTION XI.

Renewal of the War with the Araucanians, and succinct Narrative of the History of Chili, from 1655 *to* 1787.

I REGRET much the want of materials for this part of my work, as all the memoirs of which I have hitherto availed myself terminate at this period. In the year 1655, the war recommenced after a peace of between fourteen and fifteen years endurance, but contemporary writers have left us no account of the causes which interrupted the good understanding which had been so happily established by the Marquis de Baydes. All we know is that Clentaru, the hereditary toqui of the Lauquenmapu, was unanimously elevated to the supreme command in 1655, and signalized the commencent of his administration by totally defeating the Spanish army commanded by the serjeant-major of the kingdom, who fell in the action. This victory was followed by the capture of the fortresses of Arauco, Colcura, San Pedro, Talcamavida, and San Rosendo. In 1656, the toqui crossed the Biobio, completely defeated the governor Acugna in the plains of Yumbel, destroyed the forts of San Christoval and Estancia del Rey, and burned the city of Chillan. We can only add, that this war continued with great violence for ten years, during the governments of Don Pedro Portel de Cassanate, and Don Francisco de Meneses, as the successes of Clentaru are only incidentally mentioned in any of the writers belonging to this period.

Don Francisco de Meneses, a Portuguese by birth, had the glory to terminate this new war in 1665 by a peace, which proved more permanent than that concluded by Baydes. After freeing himself from the Araucanians, he had the misfortune of being involved in a contest with the members of the royal audience, who opposed his marriage with the daughter of the Marquis de la Pica, as contrary to the royal regulations. This difference proceeded to such a length, that the Marquis de Navamorquende was sent out from Spain to Chili with full powers to arrange matters; who, after due inquiry, sent Meneses to Peru and assumed the government himself.

himself. After Navamorquende, the government of Chili was administered successively to the end of the seventeenth century, by Don Miguel de Silva, Don Jose de Carrera, and Don Thomas Marin de Proveda, by all of whom a good understanding appears to have been kept up with the Araucanians: But in 1686, war had nearly been again occasioned with that nation, in consequence of removing the inhabitants of the island of Mocho to the north shore of the Biobio, in order to prevent any intercourse with foreign ships.

The commencement of the eighteenth century was remarkable in Chili by three events: The deposition of the governor Don Francisco Ibanez, the rebellion of the inhabitants of Chiloé, and the establishment of trade with the French. Ibanez was accused of having espoused the Austrian party in the succession war, and was banished to Peru; and after him, the government was successively administered until the year 1720, by Don Juan Henriquez, Don Andres Uztariz, and Don Martin Concha. The rebellion of the islanders of Chiloé was soon suppressed, and the inhabitants reduced to obedience, by the prudent management of Don Pedro Molina, the quarter-master-general of Chili, who was sent against them with a considerable body of troops, but who succeeded in restoring them to good order more by mild and conciliatory measures than by useless victories. In consequence of the succession war, by which a prince of the house of Bourbon was placed on the throne of Spain, the French acquired for a time the whole external commerce of Chili. From 1707 to 1717, the ports of that kingdom were filled with French ships, which carried from thence incredible sums in gold and silver; and many Frenchmen settled at this time in the country, who have left numerous descendants. During this period the learned Feuillé resided three years in Chili, and made his well known botanical researches and many profound meterealogical observations.

For some time the Araucanians had been much dissatisfied with several articles in the peace, under colour of which the Spaniards availed themselves of forming establishments in their country. They also were exceedingly impatient of the insolent behaviour of certain persons, called *captains of the friends*, who had been introduced under the pretence of protecting the missionaries, and now arrogated a considerable degree of authority over the natives which they submitted to with extreme reluctance. Stimulated by resentment for these grievances,

grievances, the Araucanians resolved in 1722 to have recourse to arms, and in this view they proceeded to the election of a toqui or military dictator. On this occasion they chose a person named Vilumilla, a man of low rank, but who had acquired a high character with his countrymen for judgment, courage, and extensive views, entertaining no less an object than the entire expulsion of the Spaniards from Chili. To succeed in this arduous undertaking, he deemed it necessary to obtain the support and assistance of all the native Chilese, from the confines of Peru to the Biobio, and vast as was the extent of his plan, he conceived it might be easily executed. Having slain three or four Spaniards in a skirmish, among whom was one of the captains of friends, as they were called, he dispatched messengers with the symbolical arrows, each of whom carried a finger of the slain Spaniards, to the various Chilese tribes in the Spanish provinces, inviting them to take up arms on the exhibition of a signal, to be given by kindling fires on the tops of the highest mountains all over the country. Accordingly, on the 9th of March 1723, the day previously fixed upon for the commencement of hostilities, fires were lighted up on the mountains of Copaipo, Coquimbo, Quillota, Rancagua, Maule, and Itata. But either owing to the smallness of their number, their apprehension of the issue of the war, or their long habitude of submission, the native Chilese in the Spanish provinces remained quiet, and this vast project of the toqui was entirely disconcerted.

Having declared war against the Spaniards, Vilumilla set out immediately at the head of an army to attack the Spanish settlements: Yet before commencing hostilities, he requested the missionaries to quit the country, that they might not be injured by his detached parties. Vilumilla signalized the commencement of this new war by taking the fort of Tucapel by storm. Being apprehensive of a similar fate, the garrison of Arauco abandoned that place. After destroying these two forts, Vilumilla directed his march for Puren, of which he expected to gain possession without resistance. But the commander made so vigorous a defence that he was under the necessity of besieging it in form. In a short time the garrison was reduced to extreme distress, both from scarcity of provisions and want of water, the aqueduct which brought water to the fort being destroyed by the enemy. During a sally made by the commander to obtain supplies, he and all his followers were slain. In this critical situation, Don Gabriel Cano,

Cano, who had succeeded Concha in the government, arrived with an army of five thousand men. As Vilumilla expected an immediate attack, he chose a strong position for his army which he drew up in order of battle behind the deep bed of a torrent: But, though repeatedly challenged to battle by the enemy, Cano thought it more prudent to abandon the place, and accordingly withdrew the remainder of the garrison. The war was afterwards reduced to skirmishes of small importance, and was soon terminated by a peace concluded at Negrete, a place situated at the confluence of the Biobio and the Laxa, by which the provisions of the treaty of Quillan were renewed, and the odious title of captains of the friends abolished.

After a mild and harmonious government of fifteen years, Don Gabriel Cano died at St Jago, and was succeeded by his nephew Don Manuel de Salamanca, who was appointed by the viceroy of Peru, and who conducted the government in conformity with the excellent maxims of his uncle. Don Joseph Manso, who was sent from Spain as his successor, brought orders to collect the Spanish inhabitants who were dispersed over the country into cities. For this purpose, in 1742, the new governor founded the cities of Copaipo, Aconcagua, Melipilla, Rancagua, San Fernando, Curico, Talca, Tutuben, and Angeles. In reward for this service, he was promoted to the high dignity of viceroy of Peru. His successors continued to form new establishments, and in 1753, Santa Rosa, Guasco-alto, Casablanca, Bellaisla, Florida, Coulemu, and Quirigua were founded by Don Domingo Rosas; but these have never flourished like the former. This governor likewise sent a colony to occupy the larger island of Juan Fernandez, or Isola de Tierra, which had remained uninhabited till that time, to the great injury of commerce, as the pirates found there a secure retreat whence they could easily annoy the trade of Peru and Chili. In 1759, Don Manuel Amat, who was afterwards viceroy of Peru, founded the cities of Santa Barbara, Talcamavida, and Gualqui on the Araucanian frontier.

Tranquillity was again disturbed about the year 1770, under the government of Don Antonio Gil Gonzago, who absurdly endeavoured to compel the Araucanians to live in cities. Many councils were held to devise the most suitable means for carrying this chimerical scheme into execution, which was much ridiculed by those who were best acquainted with the

the dispositions of the Araucanians, while others sided with the governor in supposing it practicable. The Araucanians were informed of these intentions of the governor by their spies; and being apprehensive of danger to their liberties from the proposed innovation, their chiefs met secretly to deliberate upon the best measures for eluding the designs of the governor without having recourse to arms. On this occasion the following resolutions were entered into by the Butacoyog, or national assembly of the ulmens. 1st, To delay the business as long as possible, by equivocal replies and delusive promises. 2d, When pressed to commence building, to require tools and other necessary aids from the Spaniards. 3d, To have recourse to war, when they found themselves no longer able to elude the demands of the governor; but that only the provinces that were compelled to build should declare war, while the others remained neutral on purpose to mediate a peace. 4th, When the mediation of these should be refused, the whole confederacy to join in the war. 5th, To allow the missionaries to depart in safety, as they had nothing to accuse them of but being Spaniards. 6th, To elect a supreme toqui, who should have the charge of executing these resolutions, and was to have every thing in readiness for taking the field when necessary.—Accordingly Antivilu, apo-ulmen of Maquegua, was unanimously elected toqui; but as his province was one of those which were to remain neutral, he declined to accept the office, and Curignancu, brother to the ulmen of Encol was elected in his stead.

At the first conference, the governor proposed his plan to the Araucanians under every aspect that he thought might render it acceptable and agreeable. In pursuance of their previous agreement, the Araucanians objected, equivocated, and at length appeared to consent, but ended by requesting the necessary assistance for beginning the work. Accordingly, having pointed out the situations which he thought most eligible for the new cities, the governor sent them a great quantity of wrought iron, together with provisions for the labourers, and cattle for transporting the timber. As the work made no progress, the quarter-master Cabrito repaired to the frontiers with several companies of soldiers, to stimulate the tardy operations, and placed for this purpose superintendents in different quarters. The serjeant-major Rivera was entrusted with the building of Nininco, and Captain Burgoa with that of another city on the banks of the Biobio,

Biobio, while Cabrito directed all the operations from his head-quarters at Angol.

Finding all their acts of equivocation and delay ineffectual, the Araucanians flew to arms, and having united to the number of five hundred men under the toqui Curignancu, they proceeded to besiege Cabrito in his camp. Burgoa, who had been made prisoner and very roughly treated, was set at liberty in consequence of being represented as inimical to the quarter-master. Rivera crossed the Biobio in sight of the enemy who were seeking to slay him, but he got away in safety under the protection of a missionary, and afterwards returned with four hundred men to relieve Cabrito. Another missionary requested the Araucanian officer who escorted him, to forgive a Spaniard by whom he had been grievously offended: The Araucanian answered that he had nothing to fear while in company with the missionary; and that it was now no time to think of revenging private injuries. Such was the attention paid to the sanctity of the missionaries, that not a single Spaniard was slain who had the good fortune of getting under their protection.

In order to attack the Araucanians in several places at once, the governor formed an alliance with the Pehuenches, who inhabit the western slopes of the Andes between the latitudes of 33° 30′ and 36° S. and between the heads of the rivers Maypo and Chillan. They accordingly sent an army through the defiles of the mountains to invade Araucania: But Curignancu, being informed of their approach, fell upon them by surprise while descending from the Andes and completely routed them, taking their general Coligura and his son, both of whom he put to death. Though this event might have been supposed calculated to occasion eternal enmity between the Pehuenches and Araucanians, it yet so effectually reconciled them, that the Pehuenches have been ever since faithful allies to the Araucanians, and implacable enemies to the Spaniards. Even in this war, Curignancu availed himself of the assistance of these mountaineers to harass the Spanish possessions in the neighbourhood of St Jago. Since that time, the Pehuenches frequently attack the Spanish caravans between Buenos Ayres and Chili, and almost every year furnishes some melancholy events of that kind.

The mortification of seeing his grand project completely overthrown preyed on the mind of Gonzago, already afflicted by a severe chronic illness, which was so much aggravated

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by this disappointment as to cut him off in the second year of the war; and Don Francisco Xavier de Morales was appointed his successor by the viceroy of Peru. As formerly concerted, the neutral provinces of Araucania now declared in favour of those who had first begun hostilities, and the war was prosecuted with vigour by the whole confederacy. Curignancu and his brave vice-toqui Leviantu, kept the Spanish troops in constant motion and alarm, though reinforced by several divisions from Spain. Having no materials for giving an account of the events of this war, it can only be mentioned that a bloody battle was fought in the beginning of the year 1773, by which period the expences of the war had exceeded 1,700,000 dollars. In the same year an accommodation was agreed upon, and Curignancu was invested by the Butacayog with full powers to settle the articles of peace. He required as a preliminary, that the conferences should be held in the city of St Jago, which was conceded by the Spanish governor though contrary to the usual custom. During the negociations in that city, he made another demand still more extraordinary, "That his nation should be allowed to keep a resident agent in the capital of Chili." This was warmly opposed by the Spanish officers; but the governor thought proper to grant this likewise, as an excellent expedient for readily adjusting any differences that might arise between the two nations. The other articles of the peace were adjusted with all manner of facility, as the treaties of Quillan and Negrete were revived by mutual consent.

On the death of Gonzago being known in Spain, Don Augustino Jauregui was sent out to assume the government of Chili, who has since filled the important office of viceroy of Peru with universal approbation. He was succeeded by Don Ambrosio Benarides, who rendered the country happy by his wise and beneficent administration. "On the 21st of November 1787, Don Ambrosio Higgins a native of Ireland, formerly brigadier-general of the cavalry in Chili, was appointed president, governor, and captain-general of the kingdom, a gentleman of an enlightened mind and excellent disposition, who has gained the love and esteem of all the inhabitants. In 1792 he continued to discharge the duties of his high station with all the vigilance and fidelity which belong to his estimable character, and which are required in so important a situation. On his first accession to the government, he visited all the northern provinces, for the purpose of dispensing

pensing justice, encouraging agriculture, opening the mines, and improving the commerce and fisheries of the kingdom. He has also established schools, repaired the roads throughout the country, and has built several new cities[1]."

SECTION XII.

State of Chili towards the end of the Eighteenth Century[1].

FROM the short deduction of the occurrences in Chili since its discovery, which has been attempted in the foregoing pages, it will be seen that the acquisition and maintenance of that interesting and important colony has cost more expenditure of blood and treasure to Spain than all the rest of her American possessions. The Araucanians, though only occupying a small extent of territory, and with far inferior arms, have not only been able to resist the military power of Spain, till then reckoned invincible, but have endangered the loss of her best established possessions. Though most of the Spanish officers employed in the early period of the Araucanian war had been bred in the low countries, that excellent school of military knowledge, and her soldiers were armed with those destructive weapons before which the most extensive empires of America had so early fallen, and were considered as the best disciplined and bravest troops in the world; yet has this brave people been able to resist their utmost efforts, and still maintain their independence unimpaired. This will appear wonderful, especially when we consider the decided superiority which European military discipline and skill have given to its troops in all parts of the world. The rapidity of the Spanish conquests in America excited universal astonishment; and a small number of Portuguese gained with almost incredible facility an extensive territory in the east, even although the natives were extremely numerous and accustomed to the use of fire-arms. Yet, in spite of every effort of force and skill, the Araucanians have valiantly defended their country, evincing

1 This last passage within inverted commas, is an addition to the text of Molina by the original translator.—E.

1 The information of Molina appears to have closed about 1787; but in some notes by the translator, interwoven here into the text, a few short notices to the year 1792 occur.—E.

evincing that a free people, however inconsiderable in point of numbers, can perform wonders.

Since losing their possessions in Araucania, the Spaniards have prudently confined their views to the preservation and improvement of that part of Chili which lies between the southern confines of Peru and the river Biobio, extending between the latitudes of 24° and 36° 30′ S. As formerly mentioned this kingdom is divided into *thirteen* provinces. Of late years two other provinces have been formed by the disjunction of Maule, and the provinces of Cauquenes and Cunco are nominally added to the former number, but without any addition of territory. Besides these, they possess the fortress and port of Valdivia in the country of the Cunches, the archipelago of Chiloé, and the island of Juan Fernandez. This colony or kingdom of Chili is governed by an officer, who combines the titles and functions of civil governor, president of the court of audience, and captain-general, and usually holds the rank of lieutenant-general in the Spanish army. He resides in the city of St Jago, and is solely dependent upon the king, except that in time of war he is subject in some points to receive orders from the viceroy of Peru. In quality of captain-general, he is commander-in-chief of the army, having under his immediate orders the three principal military officers of the kingdom, the quarter-master-general, the serjeant-major, and the commissary-general, besides the four commandants of Chiloe, Valdivia, Valparaiso, and Juan Fernandez. As president and governor, he has the supreme administration of justice, and presides in the superior tribunals established in the capital, whose jurisdiction extends over all the provinces and dependencies of Chili. The chief of these is the royal audience, whose decisions are final in all causes both civil and criminal, and which is divided into two chambers, one for civil and the other for criminal causes. Both are composed of several respectable oydors or judges, a regent, fiscal, royal procurator, and protector of the Indians, all of which officers have high salaries from the crown. In civil causes where the sum at issue exceeds the value of 10,000 dollars, an appeal lies from their sentence to the supreme council of the Indies. The other supreme courts are those of Finance, of the *Cruzada*, of Vacant lands, and the Consulate or tribunal of commerce.

The provinces of Chili are governed by officers who were formerly called corregidors, but are now known by the title of

of sub-delegates, which ought to be nominated by the crown, but are generally appointed by the governor, owing to the distance from Spain. These, as lieutenants of the governor, have jurisdiction both in civil and military affairs, and as their emoluments are entirely derived from fees, their amount is by no means regular. In each capital of a province, there is or ought to be a municipal magistracy denominated theCabildo, composed of several regidors appointed for life, of a standard-bearer, a procurator, a forensic judge called the provincial alcalde, a high sheriff called alguazil-mayor, and two alcaldes. These latter officers are nominated annually by the cabildo from the most respectable inhabitants, and have jurisdiction both in civil and criminal causes in the first instance.

All the inhabitants able to carry arms are divided into regiments, which are bound to march to the sea-coast or the frontiers in case of war. In 1792, the militia amounted to 15,856 men, in the two bishoprics of St Jago and Conception; 10,218 in the former, and 5,638 in the latter. This force which was established in 1777, during the government of Don Augustino Jaregui, is only called out on great occasions, and is seldom obliged to perform the duty of centinels and patroles; but is obliged to hold itself always in readiness for war, and frequently to exercise in the use of arms. Besides this regular militia, there are a great number of city corps, who are commanded by officers named commissaries instead of colonels. These are divided into several companies, according to the extent and population of their respective districts; and the companies have no fixed numbers, sometimes exceeding a hundred men, and at other times falling short of that number. This city militia supplies guards for the prisons and for the escort of prisoners, and performs the duties required by the police, without being exempted from military service when occasion requires; and from these companies recruits are drawn to supply vacancies in the regular militia. Every one capable of bearing arms is thus enrolled either in these companies or in the regular militia, except such as are indispensably necessary for cultivating the land and taking care of the cattle. Besides this militia, the crown maintains a regular force of veteran troops, part at St Jago and part at Conception for the protection of the Araucanian frontier. In 1792, all the veteran troops in Chili amounted to 1976 men, divided into two companies of artillery, nine troops of horse, including a regiment of dragoons at St Jago, and the rest infantry.

 The

The cavalry is commanded by a brigadier-general, who is quarter-master-general of the kingdom, and intendant of Conception. The infantry and artillery are under the command of two lieutenant-colonels. Besides these royal troops, the city of St Jago keeps several troops of dragoons in constant pay for its particular protection.

In regard to ecclesiastical polity, Chili is divided into two extensive bishoprics, those of St Jago and of Conception, the bishops of these dioceses being suffragans to the archbishop of Lima. The bishopric of St Jago extends from the confines of Peru to the river Maule, and includes the province of Cujo on the east side of the Andes. The bishopric of Conception comprises all the rest of Chili and the islands; but the greater part of this extent is inhabited by pagans, being the confederacy of Araucania and its auxiliaries. The two cathedrals have a competent number of canons or prebendaries, whose revenues as well as those of the bishops depend upon the tythes. The *holy* tribunal of the inquisition at Lima, has a commissary and several subaltern officers or familiars resident at St Jago. Upon his first coming into Chili, Valdivia brought with him several monks of the order of Mercy. About the year 1553, the Dominicans and Franciscans were established in the country, the Augustins in 1595, and the Hospitallers of St John of God in 1615. These orders all have a number of convents, and the three first form distinct jurisdictions under their respective provincials. The brothers of St John have the charge of the hospitals, under the direction of a commissary, dependent on the provincial of their order in Peru. The Jesuits came likewise into Chili in 1593, along with Don Martin Loyola, nephew to their founder, and formed a separate province, but were afterwards suppressed along with the rest of their order in all parts of christendom. Other orders have several times attempted to form establishments in Chili, but have always been resisted by the inhabitants. There are several convents of nuns in the cities of St Jago and Conception, but none are contained in the other cities of the kingdom.

Though the cities are in general built in the most fertile districts of the kingdom, many of them might have been more conveniently situated for trade upon the banks of the navigable rivers; as is more particularly the case with those of recent erection. The streets in all the cities are laid out in straight lines, intersecting each other at right angles, and

are generally about forty feet wide. The houses are mostly of one storey, yet are very commodious, are all whitewashed on the outside, and handsomely painted within, each being accommodated with a pleasant garden, irrigated by means of an aqueduct or canal, which likewise furnishes water for the use of the family. Those houses which belong to the wealthier classes, particularly the nobility, are splendidly and tastefully furnished. Noticing that old buildings of two stories had resisted the most violent earthquakes, many of the inhabitants have of late years ventured to construct their houses in the European manner, and to reside in upper rooms; employing bricks and stone in the construction of their new buildings, instead of clay hardened in the sun which was formerly supposed less liable to injury. By this change the cities have a much handsomer appearance than formerly. Cellars, sewers, and wells, were of old much more common than now; and the want of these may have contributed to render the buildings more secure from the effects of earthquakes.

The churches in Chili are in general more remarkable for their wealth than their architecture; but the cathedral and the church of the Dominicans in St Jago are both built of stone and in a handsome style. The cathedral was recently constructed at the royal expence, under the direction of the bishop Don Manuel Alday. The plan was drawn by two *English* architects, who superintended the work. It is built in a masterly style, and extends 384 French feet in length. When about half finished, the architects refused to proceed unless their wages were augmented; but two Indians who had worked under the *Englishmen* had privately made themselves acquainted with every branch of the art, and offered to complete the fabric, which they did with as much skill as their masters. The following edifices in the capital are also deserving of notice. The barracks for the dragoons; the mint, lately built by a Roman architect; and the hospital for orphans, founded by the Marquis of Monte-pio, and endowed by the crown.

In consequence of the free trade lately granted to Chili, it is increasing in population with a rapidity proportional to the salubrity of its climate and the fertility of its soil. The Europeans mostly consist of emigrants from the southern provinces of Spain, with a few French, English, and Italians. The Creoles, or descendents of European settlers are still

more

more numerous. The character of that race, with some slight differences owing to climate and government, is similar to that of other American Creoles descended from Europeans. "The Creoles are generally well made, and are rarely found with those deformities which are so common in other countries. Their courage has frequently signalized itself in war, by a series of brilliant exploits, nor would there be better soldiers in the world if less averse from submission to discipline. Their history furnishes no examples of that cowardice, treachery, and baseness which dishonour the annals of all nations, and scarcely can an instance be adduced of a Creole having committed a disgraceful action. Untainted by the mean vices of dissimulation, artifice, and suspicion, they possess great frankness and vivacity of character, joined to a high opinion of themselves, and their intercourse with the world is not stained by that mysterious reserve so common in Europe, which obscures the most amiable characters, depresses the social spirit, and chills sensibility of disposition. Possessed of an ardent imagination and impatient of restraint, they are prone to independence yet inconstant in their inclinations and pursuits. By the warmth of their temperature, they are impelled to the pursuit of pleasure with an eagerness to which they sacrifice their fortunes and often their lives. They possess keen penetration, and a remarkable facility of conceiving and expressing their ideas with force and clearness, together with a happy talent of observation, combined with all those qualities of mind and character, which render men capable of conceiving and executing the greatest enterprises, especially when stimulated by oppression[2]."

Whatever intelligent and unprejudiced travellers have observed respecting the characters of the French and English Creoles, will perfectly apply to those of Chili. The same modes of thinking and the same moral qualities are discernible in them all. They generally have respectable talents, and succeed in all the arts to which they apply. Had they the same motives to stimulate them as are found in Europe, they would make as great progress in the useful sciences as they have already made in metaphysics. They do not readily imbibe prejudices, and are not tenacious in retaining them. As however, scientific books and philosophical instruments are

2 This character of the Creoles is inserted by the original translator, in a note, from the Abbe Raynal.—E.

are very scarce and difficultly attainable in Chili, their talents have no opportunity of being developed, and are mostly employed in trifling pursuits; and as the expence of printing is enormous, they are discouraged from literary exertion, so that few among them aspire to the reputation of becoming authors. The knowledge of the civil and canon law is held in high estimation, so that many of the youth of Chili, after completing their academical education in their own country, proceed to Lima to study law. The fine arts are in a low state in Chili, and even the mechanical arts are far from perfection. The arts of carpentry, of working in iron, and in the precious metals, are however to be excepted, in which they have made considerable progress, in consequence of the information and example of some German artists, who were introduced into Chili by that worthy ecclesiastic Father Carlos, a native of Hainhausen in Bavaria. The important changes which the beneficence of an enlightened administration in Spain have lately introduced into the American colonies, by directing the attention of the subjects to useful improvements, have extended their influence even to Chili. Arts and sciences, formerly unknown or but very imperfectly, now engage the attention of the inhabitants, and there is reason to hope that the country will soon assume a better aspect.

The peasantry of Spanish Chili, though for much the greater part of Spanish descent, dress after the manner of the Araucanians. Thinly dispersed over an extensive country, and unincumbered by restraint, they enjoy complete liberty, and lead a tranquil and happy life, amidst the enjoyment of abundance, in a delightful climate and fertile soil. The principal part of these healthy and vigorous men live dispersedly upon their respective possessions, and cultivate with their own hands a greater or less extent of ground. They are naturally gay, and fond of all kinds of diversion. They have likewise a strong taste for music, and even compose verses, which, though rude and inelegant, possess much pleasing native simplicity, often more interesting than the laboured compositions of cultivated poets. Extemporary rhymers are common among them, like the *improvisatori* of Italy, and are called *Palladores*, who are held in great estimation, and devote themselves entirely to that occupation. In the Spanish provinces of Chili, no other language than Spanish is spoken, except upon the frontiers, where the

 peasants

peasants speak both Araucanian and Spanish. The men dress in the fashion of Spain, and the women in that of Peru; only that the women in Chili wear their garments longer than is usual in Peru. Lima prescribes the fashions for Chili, as is done by Paris for the rest of Europe; and the inhabitants of Chili and Peru are equally luxurious, as in both countries the wealthy make a splendid display in their dress, titles, coaches, and servants. Chili enjoys alone of all the American colonies, the high honour of having two of its citizens exalted to the dignity of grandees of Spain: Don Fernando Irrazabel, Marquis of Valparaiso, born in St Jago, who was viceroy of Navarre, and generalissimo of the Spanish army in the reign of Philip IV. and Don Fermin Caravajal, Duke of San Carlos, a native of Conception, who resides at present[3] at the court of Madrid. Don Juan de Covarrubias, a native of St Jago, who went into the service of France in the beginning of the eighteenth century, was rewarded with the title of marquis, the order of the Holy Ghost, and the rank of Marshal in the French army.

The salubrity of the climate, and the constant exercise on horseback to which the natives of Chili are accustomed from their infancy, render them strong and active, and preserve them from many diseases. The small-pox is not so common as in Europe, but makes terrible ravages when it appears[4]. In the year 1766, it was first introduced into the province of Maule, where it proved exceedingly fatal. At this time, a countryman who had recovered from this loathsome disease, conceived the idea of curing those unhappy persons who were deemed in a desperate situation, by means of cows milk, which he gave to his patients to drink, or administered in clysters. By this simple remedy, he cured all whom he attended; while the physicians saved very few by their complicated prescriptions. I mention this circumstance, as it strongly confirms the practice of M. Lassone, physician to the

3 This refers to 1787, when Molina published his work.—E.

4 Several years ago, before that terrible French eruption which now desolates Spain, the Spanish government communicated to all her colonies, however distant, the inestimable benefit of vaccination. It may be here mentioned that it has been long known among the illiterate cow-herds in the mountains of Peru, all either native Peruvians or Negroes, that a disease of the hands which they are liable to be infected with on handling diseased cows udders, *the cow-pox*, effectually arms all who have been subjected to it against the infection of the *small-pox*.—E.

the queen of France, published in the Medical Transactions of Paris for 1779, who was successful in curing the small-pox with cows milk, mixed with a decoction of parsley roots. From these instances it would appear, that milk has the power of lessening the virulence of this terrible disease.

The Creole inhabitants of Chili are in general generous and benevolent. Contented with a comfortable subsistence, so easily acquired in that country, they are rarely infected with the vice of avarice, and even scarcely know what parsimony is. Their houses are universally open to all travellers, whom they entertain with much hospitality, without any idea of being paid; and this virtue is even exercised in the cities. Hence, they have not hitherto attended to the erection of inns and public lodging-houses, or hotels, which will become necessary when the commerce of the interior becomes more active. The inhabitants of Chili are very dexterous in using the *laqui*, which they constantly carry with them on their excursions. It consists of a strap of leather several fathoms in length, twisted like a cord, one end of which is fastened to the girth under the horses belly, and the other end terminates in a strong noose, which they throw over any animal they wish to catch with so much dexterity as hardly ever to miss their aim[5]. It is used likewise on foot, in which case one end is fixed to the girdle. The peasants of Chili employed this singular weapon with success against certain English pirates who landed on their coast. Herodotus makes mention of the employment of a similar noose in battle by the Sagartii, a nation of Persian descent, who used no offensive weapons except daggers, depending principally upon cords of twisted leather, with a noose at one extremity, with which they used in battle to entangle their enemies, and then easily put them to death with their daggers. The inhabitants of Chili are likewise very expert in the management of horses; and, in the opinion of travellers who have seen and admired their dexterity and courage on horseback, they might soon be formed into the best body of cavalry in the world. From their attachment to horses, they are particularly fond of horse-races, which they conduct in the English manner.

The negroes, who have been introduced into Chili by contraband means, are subjected to a much more tolerable servitude

5. The *laqui* in use to the east of the Andes, at least so far as employed in war, has either a ball or stone at one or both ends.—E.

vitude than in other parts of America, where the interested motives of the planters have stifled every sentiment of humanity. As the cultivation of sugar and other West Indian produce has not been introduced into Chili, the negro slaves are employed only in domestic services, where by attention and diligence they acquire the favour of their masters. Those most esteemed are either born in the country, or mulattoes, as they become attached to the families to which they belong. By the humanity of government, excellent regulations have been introduced in favour of this unfortunate race. Such as have been able by their industry to save a sum of money sufficient to purchase a slave, are entitled to ransom themselves by paying it to their masters, who are obliged to receive it and grant them their liberty; by which means many of them have obtained their freedom. Those who are ill treated by their masters, can demand *a letter of sale*, which entitles them to seek for a purchaser; and if the master refuses, they apply to the judge of the town or district, who examines into their complaint, and grants the required permission, if well founded. Such instances are however rare, as the masters are careful not to reduce their slaves to this necessity on account of their own reputation, and because the slaves are generally so much attached to their masters, that the greatest punishment which could be inflicted on them were to sell them to others. It even frequently happens that those who have received their freedom in reward of good conduct, do not avail themselves of it, that they may not lose the protection of the family they belong to, from which they are always sure of subsistence. Masters however have the right to correct their slaves, and the kind and degree of punishment is left with them, except in capital crimes.

The internal commerce of Chili has hitherto been of small importance, notwithstanding the many advantages possessed by this fertile country. Its principal source, industry, or necessity rather, is still wanting. An extensive commerce requires a large population, and in proportion as the one increases, the other will necessarily advance. A communication by water, which greatly facilitates the progress of commerce, has already been opened. In several of the Chilese ports, barks are now employed in the transportation of merchandise, which had formerly to be carried by land on the backs of mules, with great trouble and expence; and this beneficial alteration will probably be followed with others of greater importance.

importance. Several large ships have been already built in the harbour of Conception, and at the mouth of the river Maule, in the port of Huachapure; by which the external commerce of the kingdom is carried on with Peru and Spain. In the trade with Peru, twenty-three or twenty-four ships are employed, of five or six hundred tons each, part of which belong to Chili and part to Peru. These usually make three voyages yearly, and carry from Chili wheat, wine, pulse, almonds, nuts, cocoa-nuts, conserves, dried meat, tallow, lard, cheese, bend-leather, timber for building, copper, and a variety of other articles; and bring back return cargoes of silver, sugar, rice, and cotton. The ships which trade directly from Spain to Chili, receive gold, silver, copper, Vicugna wool, and hides, in exchange for European commodities. A permission to trade to the East Indies would be very profitable to the Chilese, as their most valuable articles are either scarce or not produced in these wealthy regions of Asia, and the passage across the Pacific Ocean would be easy and expeditious, in consequence of the prevalence of southerly winds. The only money current in Chili is of gold and silver, which is considerably embarrassing to internal commerce, as the smallest silver coin is the sixteenth of a dollar, or $4\frac{1}{4}$d. The weights and measures are the same with those of Madrid.

"Of the two great sources of commerce, agriculture and manufacturing industry, the former alone hitherto animates the internal trade of Chili, or even the commercial intercourse between that country and Peru [6]. The working of mines also occupies the attention of many of the colonists, especially in the provinces of Copaipo, Coquimbo, and Quillota. Manufacturing industry is hitherto so trifling as not to deserve notice. Notwithstanding the abundance of raw materials for this purpose, such as flax, wool, hemp, skins, and metals, which might give employment to a flourishing manufacturing industry, it is still in a languid condition. The inhabitants however manufacture *ponchos*, stockings, carpets, blankets, skin-coats, saddles, hats, and other small articles, chiefly for the use of the poorer people, as those used by the middle and higher ranks are from the manufactures of Europe. These enumerated articles, with the sale of hides and leather, grain and wine, form the whole internal commerce of Chili. The external

6 These observations on the trade of Chili, distinguished by inverted commas, are inserted into the text from a long note in this part of the work of Molina.—E.

external commerce is principally with the ports of Peru, and particulary with that of Callao, the port of Lima. To the amount of about 700,000 dollars is yearly sent to Peru in the productions of Chili, serving not only to counterbalance the importations from that country, but leaving an annual balance of 200,000 dollars in favour of Chili. The trade between Chili and Buenos Ayres is on the contrary in favour of the latter, as Chili has to pay about 300,000 dollars yearly in cash for the herb *Paraguay* alone. The other articles received from Buenos Ayres are probably paid for by those which are sent to that place. In the trade with Spain, the productions of Chili go but a short way in payment of the European goods which are annually imported to the value of more than a million of dollars. Gold, silver, and copper, form the whole of the articles sent from Chili to Spain, as the hides and Vicugna wool are of too little importance to be considered.

"Gold to the extent of 5200 marks [7], and as the amounts which are coined and shipped are nearly equal, there does not appear to be any clandestine extraction. But a considerable quantity is expended in bullion, in works of use or ornament. The silver extracted from the mines of Chili is estimated at 30,000 marks yearly [8]. Of this about 25,000 marks are coined annually, and the residue is employed in the fabrication of plate. Yet a considerably larger amount is shipped every year, arising from the coined silver, which is transmitted from Lima. The remittances of gold and silver from Chili to Spain passes usually through Buenos Ayres. The gold, being less bulky, is carried by land, by the monthly packets, in sums of two or three thousand ounces. The silver is sent by two ships every summer, which likewise carry a part of the gold. The remittances of gold amount annually to 656,000 dollars [9], the silver to 244,000 [10]; and the copper annually extracted from the mines of Chili is estimated at from eight to ten thousand quintals [11]. From these data it will not

7 The mark being eight ounces may be valued at L. 4; hence the yearly production of gold in Chili is equal to about L.166,400 sterling.—E.

8 At eight ounces the mark, and 6s. *per* ounce, this amounts only to the yearly value of L.72,000 sterling.—E.

9 At 4s. 6d. the dollar, equal to L. 147,600 sterling.—E.

10 Or L.54,900 sterling.—E.

11 The quintal of 100 pounds, at 1s. 6d. a pound, gives an average value of L. 67,500 sterling for the yearly produce of copper.—E.

not be difficult to form a general estimate of the value of yearly produce from Chili [12]."

Section XIII.

Account of the Archipelago of Chiloé [1].

The Archipelago of Chiloé, extends from Cape Capitanes to Quillan, from lat. 41° 50′ to 44° S. long. 302° to 303° 25′ E. from the meridian of Teneriffe [2]. On the north it is bounded by the continent, where the Juncos and Rancos [3], two independent and unconverted nations, possess the country from thence to Valdivia: on the east by the Andes, which separate it from Patagonia; on the south by the archipelago of Guaitecas; and on the west by the Pacific Ocean. The islands of this archipelago amount to about eighty, and appear to have been produced by earthquakes, owing to the great number of volcanoes, with which that country formerly abounded. Every part of them exhibits the most unquestionable marks of the operation of volcanic fire. Several mountains in the great island of Chiloé, which gives name to the archipelago, are composed of basaltic columns, which have been certainly produced by volcanic fire, whatever may be alleged to the contrary. The inhabited part of this province, extends from Maullin to Huilad, comprising forty leagues from north to south, and eighteen or twenty from east to west, and comprises twenty-five islands. There are Isla Grande, Ancud, or Chiloe Proper; Achao, Lemui, Quegui, Chelin, Tanqui, Linlin, Llignua, Quenai, Meulin, Caguach, Alau, Apeau, Chaulinec, Vuta-Chauquis, Anigue, Chegniau, Caucague, Calbuco, Llaicha, Quenu, Tabon, Abtau, Chiduapi, and Kaur.—Chiloe Ancud, or *Isla Grande*, being the largest island as

12 The entire value of the three enumerated articles amounts to L.270,000 sterling; but the other articles of export from Chili, formerly enumerated, are not here included.—E.

1 This is appended to the English translation of Molina, and is said to be chiefly extracted from a work on that subject by Pedro Gonzalis de Agueros, published at Madrid in 1791.—E.

2 Or from long. 73° to 74° 20′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

3 Called Cunches and Huilliches by Molina. Several circumstances in this account are interwoven from the text of Molina, Vol. II. Book iv. ch. ii. This circumstance will account for occasional repetitions, and perhaps some apparent contradictions, which may appear.—E.

as its name imports, is the most populous, and the seat of government. Its capital, Castro, which is the only city in the province, was founded in 1566 by Don Martin Ruiz de Gamboa, during the viceroyalty of Lope Garcia de Castro in Peru, and was honoured with the name of his family.

The inhabitants of these islands are descended from the continental aborigines of Chili, as is evident from their manners, appearance, and language; yet are they very different in character, being of a pacific and rather timid disposition. They accordingly made no opposition against the handful of Spaniards who were sent to subjugate them under Gamboa, though their population is said to have then exceeded seventy thousand. Neither have they ever attempted to shake off the yoke, except once at the beginning of last century, when a very unimportant insurrection was speedily quelled. The number of inhabitants at present amounts to upwards of eleven thousand, which are distributed into seventy-six districts, each of which is governed by a native *ulmen*. The greatest part of this population is subject to the Spanish commanders, and are obliged to give personal service fifty days in every year, pursuant to the feudal laws, which are rigorously enforced in this province, though they have been long abolished in the rest of the kingdom of Chili.

These islanders in general possess great quickness of capacity, and readily learn any thing that is taught them. They have an apt genius for all mechanical arts, and excel in carpentry, cabinet-making, turnery, and the like, and are very expert in the construction of wooden-houses, as indeed all the habitations and even the churches are of timber. They are likewise good manufacturers in linen and woollen, of which last mixed with the feathers of sea-birds they make very beautiful bed-coverings. They also manufacture *ponchos* or cloaks of various kinds, many of which are striped, or embroidered with coloured silk or worsted.

These islands abound in wood, of which they supply large quantities yearly. As it rains almost incessantly, the cultivated lands are commonly wet the whole year. Though they have abundance of cattle, these are not employed for ploughing the ground, which is tilled or cultivated in the following singular manner. About three months before seed-time, their sheep are turned upon the lands intended for a crop, changing their situation every three or four nights, in the manner called folding in Europe, by which the land is sufficiently

ciently manured. The field is then strewed over with the seed corn, and a strong man scratches or slightly turns over the soil to cover the seed, by means of a rude implement composed of two crooked sticks of hard wood fastened together and made sharp, which he forces into the ground with his breast. Notwithstanding this very imperfect tillage, the subsequent crop of wheat generally yields ten or twelve for one. They likewise grow large quantities of barley, beans, peas, *quinoa*, which is a species of chenopodium used in making a pleasant species of drink, and the largest and best potatoes that are to be found in all Chili. Owing to the moisture of the climate, the grape never comes to sufficient maturity for making wine; but its want is supplied by various kinds of cyder, made from apples and other wild fruits which abound in the country.

Owing to their habitude of frequently going from one island to another, where the sea is far from being pacific, the Chilotans are all excellent sailors, and being active, docile, and industrious, they are very much employed in navigating the shipping of the South Sea. Their native barks or piraguas are formed of from three to five planks, sewed together, and caulked with a species of moss which grows on a particular shrub. There are vast numbers of these barks all through the archipelago, which they manage very dexterously both with sails and oars, and the natives often venture as far as Conception in these frail vessels. They are much addicted to fishing, and procure vast quantities and many kinds of excellent fish on the sea around their shores. Of these they dry large quantities, which they export to Chili and Peru, and the other countries on the Pacific Ocean. They likewise cure considerable quantities of testaceous fishes, such as conchs, clams, and *piures*, in the following manner. These shell fish are laid in a long trench, covered over with the large leaves of the *panke tinctoria*, over which a layer of stones is laid, on which a hot fire is kindled and kept up for several hours. The roasted fish are then taken out of the shells, strung upon lines, and hung up for some time in the smoke of wood fires. Cured in this manner they keep well for a considerable time, and are carried for sale to Cujo and other inland districts.

The Christian religion was very readily embraced by the Chilotans after their subjugation, and they have ever since continued stedfast in its observance. Their spiritual concerns are under the direction of the bishop of Conception. Formerly

merly the government was administered by a lieutenant-governor appointed by the governor of Chili, but that officer is now nominated by the viceroy of Peru. The whole external trade of these islands is carried on by three or four ships which come there annually from Peru and Chili, by which they receive wine, brandy, tobacco, sugar, herb of Paraguay, salt, and European goods, for which they give in exchange red cedar boards, timber of different kinds, ponchos of various qualities, hams, pilchards, dried shell-fish, white-cedar boxes, embroidered girdles, and a small quantity of ambergris which is found on their shores.

The navigation in this archipelago is difficult and even dangerous owing to the strength and number of the currents, and nothing can appear worse adapted for so perilous a sea than the piraguas or boats which are used by the islanders. They are without keel or deck, and the planks of which they are composed are sewed or laced together by means of strong withies, the seams being caulked or stuffed with a kind of moss, or with pounded cane leaves, over which the withies are passed. The cross timbers or thwarts are fixed by means of pegs or tree-nails. In these frail barks, which are very easily overset, the Chilotans venture with a fearlessness proceeding entirely from being accustomed to danger, not from skill in avoiding it. Their main source of food is from the sea, which is general most bountiful in those parts of the world where the earth is least so. Their mode of fishing is singular and ingenious. At low water, they inclose a large extent of the flat shore with stakes interwoven with boughs of trees, forming a kind of basket-work; which pens or *corrales* are covered by every flood and left dry by the ebb tide, at which time they generally find abundance of fish. They likewise employ as food a species of sea-weed, called *luche*, which they form into a kind of loaves or cakes which are greatly esteemed even by the wealthy inhabitants of Lima. Seals are more numerous in the archipelagos of Guaitecas and Guayneco, still farther to the south, where they are eaten by the natives, who are said to acquire so rank an odour from the use of this food that it is necessary to keep them to leeward. Whales sometimes run aground among these islands but are greatly more numerous farther to the south. They have probably retired from this part of the coast in consequence of being persecuted, as ambergris was formerly found in great abundance on these shores, but is now very rare.

All

All the islands are very mountainous and craggy, so that only a few vallies among the hills and the flat grounds near the shore are susceptible of cultivation. On this scanty cultivable ground, there are forty-one settlements, called *pueblas* or townships, in the *isla grande*, or large island of Chiloé. There is one road indeed across the mountains, but the whole interior of the island is uninhabited. The isle of Quinchau has six pueblas; Lemui and Llaicha each four, Calbuco three, all the other inhabited islands only one each, and there are three on the continent, in all eighty-one. In these pueblas or townships, the houses are much scattered, each being placed upon its attached property. The church stands near the beach, having a few huts erected in the neighbourhood, which serve to accommodate the parishioners when they come to church on Sundays or any festival to attend mass. In the whole archipelago there are but four places where the houses are placed so near together as to assume the appearance of a town or village. These are the city of Castro as it is called, Chacao, Calbuco, and the port of San Carlos. This last is the largest and most flourishing. In 1774 it contained sixty houses, with 462 inhabitants. In 1791, it had increased to two hundred houses and eleven hundred inhabitants; but its prosperity arose on the ruin of Chacao, which was the only port in the whole archipelago till 1768. The harbour of Chacao is rendered very dangerous by reason of many rocks and shoals, and is much exposed to winds from the north and and north-east; on which account Don Carlos de Berenger, when governor, recommended that a town should be built at *Gacui del Ingles*, or English harbour, which was accordingly ordered by the court of Spain in 1767. The bay was then named Bahia del Rey, or Kings Bay, and the town and harbour San Carlos. It is in lat. 41° 57′ S. and long. 73° 58′ W. The port is good, but ships are often wrecked at the entrance, in consequence of tremendous hurricanes which come on suddenly, at which time the land cannot be seen. Since the erection of this town, the seat of government has been removed to it from Castro.

It is difficult to understand what motives could have induced the Spaniards to settle in this miserable country, when the whole extent of this western side of South America was open to them. Where gold and silver are to be found, or where wealth is to be acquired by commerce, men will readily settle, however barren and unfavourable the country, or however

 pestilential

pestilential the climate. But Chiloé offers no incitements to avarice, and only a bare and comfortless subsistence to perpetual industry. Perhaps the principal part of the original settlers were people who escaped from the fury of the Araucanians, unable to remove to Peru, or to subsist if they got there, and who were therefore glad of getting any place of rest and security. There is perhaps no other colony in the world to which Europeans have carried so few of their arts and comforts, or where they have attempted to colonize under so many natural disadvantages. Two instances indeed may be excepted; the project of Philip II. to fortify the Straits of Magellan, and the unaccountable settlements of the Norwegians in Greenland. In Chiloé it often rains for a whole month without intermission, and these rains are frequently accompanied by such tremendous hurricanes that the largest trees are torn up by the roots, and the inhabitants do not feel safe in their houses. Even in January, their mid-summer, they have often long-continued heavy rain. If during the height of a storm the smallest opening be perceived in the clouds towards the south, fine weather soon succeeds; but first the wind changes suddenly to the south, with even greater violence than it blew before from the opposite quarter, and comes on with a crash as loud and sudden as the discharge of a cannon. The storm then passes away with a rapidity proportional to its violence, and the weather clears up. But at this critical change of the wind, vessels are exposed to the utmost danger. Thunder and lightning are rare, but earthquakes are frequent. In 1737 these islands suffered severely by an earthquake; a few days after which a cloud or exhalation of fire, coming from the north, passed over the whole archipelago, and, as is said, set fire to the woods in many of the islands in the group of the Guaitecas. It is said also that these islands were then covered over with ashes, and that vegetation did not again appear upon them till 1750, thirteen years afterwards.

Though excessively rainy, the climate is not unhealthy; but no people on earth ever had more cause to believe that the ground was cursed to bring forth thorns and thistles, and that man is condemned to eat bread with the sweat of his brow, as there are none who labour so hard and procure so little. They are so poor as to have no iron, or so very little that a family which has an axe guards it like a treasure. Their substitute for a plough has been already described as made

made of two crooked branches of a tree, with a sharp point at one end and a round ball at the other, which they force into the ground by means of their breast, protected by a sheeps skin during this rude operation of tillage. Laborious as this mode must be even in a free soil, it is rendered still more so in Chiloe by the myrtle roots which everywhere infest their cultivated land. The little corn they raise can never be left to ripen in the field, on account of the heavy and frequent rains. It must be cut before it ripens, and its sheaves hung up to dry in the sun-shine, if the sun happens then to shine; and otherwise it has to be dried within doors[4]. Bread is consequently a luxury which is reserved for great occasions; and the want of which is supplied by means of excellent potatoes, far better than any that are produced in Peru or Chili.

Apples and strawberries are their only fruit, both of which are good and plentiful. The woods produce a plant called *quilineja*, much resembling the *esparto* or broom of Spain, from which they manufacture their cables; and they make smaller ropes from several leafless parasitical plants which twine round the larger trees like vines or bindwood. A species of wild cane or reed serves to roof their houses, and its leaves serve as hay or fodder for the few horses which are kept in this inhospitable country. In that part of the continent which belongs to this province, there is a tree, called *alerse* by the Spaniards and *lahual* by the Indians, which supplies the principal part of their exports, as from 50,000 to 60,000 planks of its wood are sent yearly to Lima. It grows to a large size, and has so even and regular a grain as to admit of being cleft by wedges into boards or planks of any desired thickness, even smoother than could be done by a saw. Neither Agueros nor Falkner had ever seen the tree; but the latter supposed it of the fir tribe from description, and supposes it might thrive in England if its seeds could be brought over, as the country in which it grows is as cold as Britain, and it is reckoned the most valuable timber of that

country

4 In many parts of Norway, the peasants have to win, or dry, their corn sheaves spitted on wooden spars set upon stakes in the open air; and a nobleman in the western Scots Highlands, has shades in which to dry his corn and hay, where the sheaves are hung upon pegs like herrings in a curing house. Yet bad as is the climate of Chiloe, Iceland and Kamtshatka can grow no corn at all.—E.

country both for beauty and duration. The bark of this tree makes excellent oakum for that part of ships which is under water, but does not answer when exposed to the sun and air. They export also the wood of a tree named *luma*, for axle-trees and the poles of carriages; of a particular kind of hazle for ship-building, which answers excellently for oars; they likewise make chests and boxes of a species of cypress, and of a tree named *ciruelillo*.

Hams are a principle article among their exports, as hogs are the most numerous animals in Chiloé, where they find their own food in the woods. Few sheep are kept, yet there are sufficient to furnish wool to give employment to the women. From this they manufacture *ponchos*, two of which give sufficient work to a woman for a whole year, as they work without a loom. The warp is stretched between a set of pegs, and they weave in the woof with their fingers, yet make the work remarkably fine, strong, and beautiful. They make also a smaller kind, called *bordillos*, which are the ordinary dress of the negroes at Lima. Besides these, they manufacture blankets and rugs, or coverlets for beds, and linen cloth; which last is woven in looms.

In summer, when the vessels arrive from Callao, San Carlos is like a fair, as this is the only opportunity enjoyed by the Chilotans to get supplied with any thing which is not the produce of their own country, or to dispose of any portion of their surplus produce. As they have no money or circulating medium of commerce, the whole trade is carried on by means of barter, which would leave the islanders at the mercy of the merchants from Lima, but for the interference of the government. On the arrival of the first ship of the season, the cabildo or municipal magistracy of San Carlos, fixes a money price at which every thing is to be rated on both sides; which means of regulating the market seems absolutely necessary, as otherwise the Chilotans in buying would be obliged to give any price demanded by the seller, and in selling would have to take any price offered. Still it would be much for their advantage to export their own commodities; but the whole archipelago does not contain a single vessel large enough to make a voyage to Peru or even to Chili. Formerly the soldiers who were in garrison in this province used to receive their pay in clothes and other articles of which they might be in want; but they were ordered by a late regulation to be paid in specie; and if this be continued it must occasion

occasion an important change in the commercial situation of Chiloé, by introducing a circulating medium. In San Carlos there is a garrison of regular troops, consisting of 33 artillery-men, 58 dragoons, and 53 infantry. The militia of the archipelago consists of 1569 men, including officers; which have to do garrison duty, but receive no pay or rations, having to serve entirely at their own expence.

The inhabitants of Chiloé consists only of two classes of people, Spaniards and Indians, there being no negroes and no mixed breed or mestees. The want of negroes is easily explained by the poverty of the islanders; but we are not told how it happens that the other two races have not intermixed [5]. This is the more remarkable, as a most extraordinary change has taken place in the language of these islands during the latter half of the eighteenth century; insomuch that the language of the Indian inhabitants consists entirely of Spanish words, but all the inflexions, the syntax, and the idiomatic manner of expression are Chilese, that is to say exactly corresponding to the Moluchese dialect of the Chilidugu.

Both men and women of the Spanish population in Chiloé go barefooted, except a few of the principal families who sacrifice convenience to pride; as in a country so continually wet it is safer to go about with naked feet than to have them in wet coverings. The men universally wear the *poncho*. The houses, or hovels rather, are all built of wood, and the crevices are stopped with sheep-skin or rags. The roofs are all thatched; and the climate is so rainy that this soon rots and must be frequently renewed. These dwellings consist of a single room, in which the family, the cattle, and the poultry, are all accommodated. A few of the inhabitants who can afford superior accommodation, have houses divided into several apartments, wainscoted within, and roofed with deal. Being all of wood, fires are frequent occurrences; but as the houses are scattered, the mischief does not extend. Owing to the inclemency of the weather, and the miserable state of the roads, a family in the scattered and solitary situation in which the houses are placed, is often weeks, and sometimes months

without

5 Probably the gradations have not been attended to, because the nice discrimination of ranks has not been deemed worth while in so poor a country. Perhaps the mestees and their gradations are all elevated to the rank of Spaniards, or all depressed to that of vassal Chilotans.—E.

without any communication with their neighbours. There is neither hospital, physician, nor surgeon in the whole province. A sick person is laid in a bed or a heap of skins near a large fire, and remains there till recovery or death supervene. The missionaries who visited these islands could find no books from which to teach the children to read, and when they wished them to write there was no paper. Necessity produced a substitute, and they used wooden boards or tablets, on which they wrote with a substance which could be washed out. Such is the miserable situation of the Spanish inhabitants of the archipelago of Chiloé: yet they dare not leave their wretched birth-place in the hope of bettering their fortunes. The small-pox is hitherto unknown among them, and those who have attempted to go elsewhere have been cut off by that loathsome disease. In 1783, the entire population of this dreary province amounted to 23,477, of whom 11,985 were of Spanish descent, and 11,492 Indians.

SECTION XIV.

Account of the Native Tribes inhabiting the southern extremity of South America [1].

THE poet Ercilla has made the name of the *Araucanians* so famous that it were improper now to change the appellation. But that denomination properly belongs only to those tribes of the *Picunches* who inhabit the country of Arauco [2]. The nations or tribes who inhabit the southern extremity of South America are known among themselves by the general names

1 This supplementary section or appendix is added to the second volume of Molina, apparently by the English translator, and is said to be chiefly extracted from the description of Patagonia by Falkner. As the subject is new and interesting, we have been induced to extend somewhat beyond the rigid letter of a collection of voyages and travels. The picture of man in varied circumstances of savage life, is one of the most important pieces of information to be derived from a collection such as that we have undertaken; and where direct means of communicating that intelligence are unattainable, it is surely better to employ such as can be procured than none.—E.

2 It will easily be seen in the immediate sequel, that Falkner very improperly uses Picunches as a generic term, as it signifies in a limited manner the northern people. Molina most properly denominates the whole aborigines of Chili on both sides of the Andes, Chilese, as speaking one language, the Chili-dugu; names the tribes of Arauco and those in the same republican

names of *Moluches* and *Puelches*; the former signifying the warlike people, and the latter the eastern people.

The *Moluches* or warlike people, are divided into the *Picunches*, or people of the north, the *Pehuenches* or people of the fine country, and *Huilliches* or people of the south. The Picunches inhabit the mountains from Coquimbo to somewhat below St Jago in Spanish Chili. The Pehuenches border on these to the north, and extend to the parallel of Valdivia. Both of these are included in history under the name of Araucanians [3]. Their long and obstinate wars with the Spaniards, with the Puelches and with each other, have greatly diminished their numbers; but they have been still more diminished by the havoc which has been made among them by brandy, that curse of the American Indians, for which they have often been known to sell their wives and children, and to engage in savage scenes of civil bloodshed, entailing wide and endless deadly feuds. The small-pox has nearly completed the work of war and drunkenness, and when Falkner left the country they could hardly muster four thousand men among them all.

The Huilliches possess the country from Valdivia to the Straits of Magellan. They are divided into four tribes, who are improperly classed together as one nation, since three of them are evidently of a different race from the fourth. That branch which reaches to the sea of Chiloé and beyond the lake of Nahuelhuaupi speaks the general language of Chili, differing only from the Pehuenches and Picunches in pronunciation. The others speak a mixed language, composed of the Moluche and Tehuel tongue, which latter is the Patagon; and these tribes, from their great stature, are evidently of Patagonian origin. Collectively these three tribes are called the Vuta-Huilliches, or great southern-people; separately they are named Chonos, Poy-yes, and Key-yes. The Chonos inhabit the archipelago of Chili, and the adjoining shores of the continent. The Poy-yes or Peyes possess the coast from lat. 48° to something more than 51° S. The Key-yes or

lican confederacy Araucanians; and gives distinct names like Falkner to the allied tribes, the Puelches, Cunchese, Huilliches, Pehuenches, and others. Falkner appears to have chosen to denominate the whole from the tribe whose dialect he first became acquainted with; and some others seem to select the Moluches as the parent tribe.—E.

3 This account differs essentially from the history we have just given from the writings of Molina, an intelligent native of Chili, which cannot be repeated in the short compass of a note.—E.

or Keyes extend from thence to the Straits of Magellan. The Moluches maintain some flocks of sheep, principally for the sake of their wool, and cultivate a small quantity of corn.

The Puelches or eastern people, which name they receive from the natives of Chili, are bounded on the west by the Moluches, on the south by the Straits of Magellan, on the east by the sea, and on the north by the Spaniards. They are subdivided into four tribes, the Taluhets, Diuihets, Chechehets, and Tehuelhets. The *first* of these or *Taluhets*, are a wandering race who prowl over the country, from the eastern side of the first *desaguadero* as far as the lakes of Guanacache in the jurisdiction of San Juan and San Luiz de la Punta. Some of them are also to be found in the jurisdiction of Cordova, on the rivers Segundo Terzo and Quarto. When the Jesuits were expelled from the missions, this tribe could scarcely raise two hundred fighting men, and even in conjunction with all their allies not above five hundred. The *second* of these tribes, called the *Diuihets*, is also a wandering race, which borders westwardly on the Pehuenches, between the latitudes of 35° and 38° S. They extend along the rivers Sanguel Colorado and Hueyque, and nearly to the Casuhati on the east. This nation and that of the Taluhets are collectively called Pampas by the Spaniards, whose settlements in Tucuman and on the southern shore of the La Plata they have always infested, and sometimes even endangered. The *third* tribe of the Puelches is named the Chechehets, or eastern-people. The country which they chiefly frequent is situated between the rivers Hueyque and the first desaguadero or Rio Colorado, and from thence to the second desaguadero or Rio Negro. They are a tall and stout wandering race resembling the Patagonians, but speak a quite different language. Their dispositions are friendly and inoffensive, but they are a bold and active enemy when provoked. They are now reduced to a small number by the ravages of the small-pox. The *fourth* race, called the *Tehuelhets*, or in their own language the Tehuel-kunnees or southern-men, are the real Patagonians. These are again subdivided into many tribes, all of which and the Chechehets also are called *Serranos* or mountaineers by the Spaniards. The *Leuvuches*, who seem to be the head tribe of all the Serranos, live on the Rio Negro. They speak the same language with the Chechehets, but with a small mixture of the Tehuel. This tribe used to keep on good terms with the Spaniards, that they might hunt in security

curity in the pampas or immense plains of Buenos Ayres. About the year 1740, however, they were provoked to war by a most wanton and treacherous attack, and Buenos Ayres would in all probability have been destroyed, had not these injured people been appeased by the Jesuit missionaries. The Tehuelhets are more numerous than all the other tribes of these parts together, and are the perpetual enemies of the Moluches who are so terrible to the Spaniards, whom they would have long since destroyed if they had been equally well supplied with horses.

To the south of these are the Chulilau-Kunnees, and the Sehuan-Kunnees, who are the most southerly of the equestrian tribes. The country beyond them, all the way to the Straits of Magellan, is possessed by the last of the Tehuel tribes, called Yacana-Kunnees or foot-people, as they have no horses. These are an inoffensive race, who are very swift runners, and subsist mostly on fish. The other Tehuelhets and the Huilliches sometimes attack this tribe for the purpose of making slaves of the prisoners. The ordinary stature of all the Tehuel tribes is from six to seven feet. None of the Puelches either keep sheep or cultivate the ground, but depend altogether on hunting, for which purpose they keep a great number of dogs.

The belief in an infinite number of spirits, good and evil, is common to all the native tribes south of the Rio Plata. From the north of that river to the Orinoco a different language prevails, accompanied by a different form of superstition. The Puelches do not appear to acknowledge any of those numerous spirits as supreme over the rest. The Taluhets and Diuihets call a good spirit *Soychu*, or he who presides in the land of strong drink. The Tehuelhets call an evil spirit Atskanna Kanatz, the other Puelches denominate the same being Valichu. Huecuvu must be another name for the evil spirit; as the Chechehets give the name of Huecuvu-mapu or the devils-country to a great sandy desert, into which they never venture lest they should be overwhelmed.

Among the northern Indians, each cast or small tribe is distinguished by the name of some animal; as the tribe of the tyger, the lion, the guanaco, the ostrich, and the like. They believe that each tribe had its own particular creator, who resided in some huge cavern under a lake or hill, to which all of that tribe will go after death, to enjoy the felicity of eternal inebriation. These good creative spirits, according to their opinion,

opinion, having first created the world, made the different races of men and animals, each in their respective cave. To the Indians, they gave the spear, the bow and arrow, and the *laque* or ball and thong: to the Spaniards fire arms. Animals they allege were likewise created in these subterranean abodes of the spirits, such as were nimblest coming first out. When bulls and cows were coming out last of all, the Indians were frightened at the sight of their horns, and stopped up the mouth of their cavern; but the Spaniards were wiser and let them out. Thus they explain the reason why they had no cattle till after the coming of the Spaniards. In their opinion, all the animals who have been created in these hidden caverns have not yet emerged. They attribute all the misfortunes or diseases which happen to men or animals to the agency of the evil spirits, who are continually wandering about the world in search of mischief. Their priests or jugglers rather, are each supposed to be attended by two familiar evil spirits, to whom the souls of these jugglers are associated after death, and with whom they go about to do mischief. The jugglers are of both sexes; but it seems as if it were thought an occupation beneath the dignity of a man, as the male wizards are compelled to dress like women and are not permitted to marry. The female jugglers are under no such restriction. They are generally chosen while children to be initiated in the mysteries of this profession, from among those who are most effeminate, and such as happen to be subject to epilepsy or St Vitus' dance are considered as especially marked out for the service of the jugglers. It is a very dangerous profession, as these jugglers are frequently put to death when any calamity happens to befal either the chiefs or the people.

No ceremonies are performed in honour of the good spirits. That which is addressed to the evil ones is performed in the following manner. The assistants assemble in the hut or tent of the wizard, who is concealed in a corner of the tent, where he has a drum, one or two round calabashes with a few small sea shells in them to make a noise, like the *maraca* or rattle of the Brazilian sorcerers, and some square bags of painted hide in which he keeps his spells. He begins the ceremony by making a strange noise with his drum and rattle, after which he feigns to fall into a fit, which is supposed to be occasioned by a struggle with the evil spirit who then enters into him. During this fit, he keeps his eye-lids lifted up,

distorts

distorts his features, foams at the mouth, seems to dislocate his joints, and after many violent and unnatural motions remains stiff and motionless, like a person in a fit of epilepsy. After some time he comes to himself, as if having gained the victory over the evil spirit. He next causes a faint shrill mournful voice to be heard within his tabernacle, as of the evil spirit, who is supposed to acknowledge himself vanquished; after which the wizard, from a kind of tripod, answers all questions that are put to him It is of little consequence whether these answers turn out true or false, as on all sinister events the fault is laid on the spirit. On these conjuring occasions, the juggler is well paid by those who consult the destinies.

These southern nations make skeletons of their dead, as is done likewise by the native tribes on the Orinoco; but it is singular that this practice does not prevail among the intermediate tribes, that inhabit between the Maranon and Rio Plata. On such occasions, one of the most distinguished women of the tribe performs the ceremony of dissection. The entrails are burnt, and the bones, after the flesh has been cut off as clean as possible, are buried till the remaining fibres decay. This is the custom of the Moluches and Pampas, but the Serranos place the bones on a high frame-work of canes or twigs to bleach in the sun and rain. While the dissector is at work on the skeleton, the Indians walk incessantly round the tent, having their faces blackened with soot, dressed in long skin mantles, singing in a mournful voice, and striking the ground with their long spears, to drive away the evil spirits. Some go to condole with the widow and relations of the dead, if these are wealthy enough to reward them for their mourning with bells, beads, and other trinkets; as their customary condolence is not of a nature to be offered gratuitously, for they prick their arms and legs with thorns, and feel pain at least if not sorrow. The horses belonging to the deceased are slain, that he may ride upon them in the *alhue-mapu*, or country of the dead; but a few of these are reserved to carry his bones to the place of sepulchre, which is done in grand ceremony within a year after his death. They are then packed up in a hide, and laid on the favourite horse of the deceased, which is adorned with mantles, feathers, and other ornaments and trinkets. In this manner the cavalcade moves to the family burial-place, often three hundred leagues from the place of death, so wide and distant are their

wanderings

wanderings in the boundless plains to the south of the Rio Plata.

The Moluches and Pampas bury in large square pits about six feet deep, the bones being first accurately put into their proper places and tied together, clothed in the best robes of the deceased, and ornamented with beads and feathers, all of which are cleaned or changed once a-year. These skeletons are placed in a sitting posture in a row, with all the weapons and other valuables belong to each laid beside him. The pit is then covered over with beams or twigs, on which the earth is spread. An old matron of each tribe is appointed to the care of these sepulchres, who has to open them once a-year, to clean and new clothe the skeletons, for which service she is held in great estimation. The bodies of the slain horses are placed round the sepulchre, raised on their feet and supported by stakes. These sepulchres are generally at a small distance from the ordinary habitations of the tribe. Every year they pour upon them some bowls of their first made *chica*, or fermented liquor, and drink to the happiness of the dead. The Tehuelhets and other southern tribes carry their dead to a great distance from their ordinary dwellings, into the desert near the sea-coast, where they arrange them above ground surrounded by their horses. It is probable that only those Indians who carry their dead to considerable distances reduce them to skeletons, from the following circumstance. In the voyage of discovery made in 1746 in the St Antonio from Buenos Ayres to the Straits of Magellan, the Jesuits who accompanied the expedition found one of these tents or houses of the dead. On one side six banners of cloth of various colours, each about half a yard square, were set up on high poles fixed in the ground; and on the other side five dead horses stuffed with straw and supported on stakes. Within the house, there were two *ponchos* extended, on which lay the bodies of two men and a woman, having the flesh and hair still remaining. On the top of the house was another *poncho*, rolled up and tied with a coloured woollen band, in which a pole was fixed, from which eight tassels of wool were suspended.

Widows are obliged to observe a long and rigorous mourning. During a whole year after the death of their husbands, they must keep themselves secluded in the tents, never going out except on the most necessary avocations, and having no communication with any one. In all this time, they must abstain

abstain from eating the flesh of horses, cows, ostriches, or guanacos, must never wash their faces which are constantly smeared with soot, and any breach of chastity during this year of mourning is punished with the death of both parties by the relations of the husband.

The office of *ya*, or chief, is hereditary, and all the sons of a ya may be chiefs likewise if they can procure followers; but the dignity is of so little consequence that nobody almost covets the office. To him belongs the office of protecting his followers, of composing differences, and of delivering up any offender who is to be capitally punished; in all which cases his will is the sole law. These petty despots are prone to bribery, and will readily sacrifice their vassals and even their kindred for a good bribe. They are esteemed in proportion to their eloquence, and any chief who is not himself eloquent employs an orator to harangue the tribe in his place. When two or more tribes form an alliance against a common enemy, they elect an *apo*, or commander-in-chief, from the ablest or most celebrated of the *yas*, or hereditary chiefs. But this office, though nominally elective, has been long hereditary among the southern tribes in the family of Cangapol. The hereditary chiefs, named *yas*, *elmens*, or *ulmens*, have no power to take any thing from their vassals, neither can they oblige them to perform any work without payment. On the contrary they must treat them kindly and relieve their wants, or their vassals will put themselves under the protection of a more generous chief. Many of them therefore wave the privilege of their birth, and decline having any vassals, because they are expensive appendages, which yield little profit. But every one must attach themselves to some chief, or they would undoubtedly be put to death or reduced to slavery.

Every man buys his wife from her relations, with or without her consent, and then takes possession of her as his property. But if the woman happens to have fixed her affections on another, she contrives to wear out the patience of her purchaser, who either turns her away or sells her to the man of her choice, but seldom uses her ill. Widows, and orphan girls are at their own disposal. The yas or ulmens have generally two or three wives; and even the common people may have as many as they please, but wives are dear and they are generally contented with one. The lives of the women are one continued series of labour. They fetch wood and water; dress the victuals; make, mend, and clean the

tents;

tents; cure the skins; make them into mantles; spin and manufacture ponchos; pack up every thing for a journey, even the tent poles; load, unload, and arrange the baggage; straiten the girths of the horses; carry the lance before their husbands; and at the end of the journey set up the tents. Sickness or even the most advanced pregnancy give no relief from these labours, and it would be reckoned ignominious in the husbands to give them any assistance. The women of noble families may have slaves to relieve them of these labours; but when in want of these, must undergo the same fatigues as the rest. Yet the tribes of the southern extremity of America are not brutal to their women like those in the north, and the marriages only endure during pleasure, though those who have children seldom separate. The husband invariably protects his wife, even when in the wrong; and if detected in any criminal intercourse, all his anger falls upon the paramour, who is cruelly beaten, unless he can atone for the injury by payment. Their jugglers sometimes persuade them to send their wives into the woods, to prostitute themselves to the first person they meet, which is obviously a device for consoling themselves from the celibacy to which they are condemned. The husbands readily obey these directions; but there are women in whom native modesty overpowers superstition, who refuse obedience to their husbands on such occasions, and bid defiance to the wizard.

The dresses of all these tribes are formed of skins; but all except the *serranos* or mountaineers, weave mantles or ponchos of woollen yarn, beautifully died of various colours, which when wrapped round the body reach from the neck to the calf of the legs. A similar mantle is tied round the waist and reaches to the ankles. Besides these they have a three-cornered piece of dressed hide, of which two of the corners are tied round the waist, and the third, being passed between the legs is fastened behind. The hair is tied up from behind with the points upwards, by means of a woollen band bound many times round the head; but they are fond of wearing hats when they can get them from the Spaniards. They paint their faces red or black, and wear necklaces and bracelets of sky-blue beads. When on horseback they wear a particular kind of cloaks, having a slit in the middle through which they put their heads, and the skirts hang down to the knees or even sometimes to the feet. Their stockings or boots consist of the skin of a horses thigh and leg, flayed off

whole,

whole, dried and softened with grease, and rendered supple by wringing. The women wear straw hats in shape like those used by the Chinese. Their defensive armour consists of a helmet of double bulls hide shaped like a broad-brimmed hat; a tunic or bodice of hardened skin three or four fold, which is very heavy, but effectually resists the arrow and spear, and is even said to be musquet proof. When on foot, they have likewise a large unwieldy shield of bulls hide. The Tehuelhets and Huilliches sometimes poison their arrows. Their spears are of cane, four or five yards long, and are pointed with iron; and they use swords when they can procure them from the Spaniards. They use the *laqui* both in war and hunting; but that used in war has a ball, or weight fastened to one or both ends of the leathern thong instead of a noose. The ball weighs about a pound. When used single, or with only one ball, it is aimed at the head of the enemy, to knock out his brains. With the double *laqui*, having a ball at each end, they can fasten a man to his horse, and effectually entangle both man and beast.

END OF THE HISTORY OF CHILI.

CHAPTER X.

DISCOVERY OF FLORIDA, AND ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL INEFFECTUAL ATTEMPTS TO CONQUER AND SETTLE THAT COUNTRY BY THE SPANIARDS.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the preceding Chapters of this *Second Book*, we have given an extended account of the *Discovery* of AMERICA by COLUMBUS, and of the establishment of the principal Spanish Colonies in the New World, from authentic Original authors, a large portion of which never appeared before in any Collection of Voyages and Travels, and some important parts are now given for the first time in the English language. It is not the object of this work to attempt giving a regular series of the History of America, by inserting the establishments of all the European colonies which have been settled in that

quarter

quarter of the world, which would occupy more room than can be conveniently allowed in our Collection, and for which we do not possess original documents of sufficient interest. In the present chapter it is only meant to give a relation of the Discovery of Florida by Juan Ponce de Leon in 1512; of the disastrous attempt of Panfilo de Narvaez to conquer that country in 1528; and of the romantic exploratory expedition of Ferdinand de Soto in the years 1539-1543: All of which is taken from the General History of America by Herrera, which may be considered as an original and almost contemporary authority.

Antonio de Herrera, who was historiographer to the king of Spain, appears to have composed his work only a short time after the middle of the sixteenth century, as he continues the series of events no farther than 1554; though he incidentally alludes to one transaction which happened in 1572. The authenticity of his work is unquestionable, as the author assures us that it was composed by royal command, from all the best and most authentic sources of information which the crown could furnish, both in print and manuscript; and that he had carefully consulted and followed the original papers preserved in the royal archives, and the books, registers, relations, and other papers of the supreme council of the Indies, together with all the best authors on the subject then extant. As a literary curiosity of its kind, we subjoin his list of what were then considered the best writers on the affairs of the New World.—Those in Italics have been already inserted into this work.

Peter Martyr of Angleria.—Diego de la Tobilla.—Motolinea.—*Don Hernando Colon.*—Olonso de Ojeda.—Alonso de Mata.—Enciso.—Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo.—Francisco Lopez de Gomara.—Andres de San Martino.—Pedro de Zieza.—Alvar Nunnez Cabeza de Vaca.—*Bernal Diaz del Castillo.*—The Bishop of Chiapa, Las Casas.—The Dean Cervantes.—Francisco de Xeres.—Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada.—Garibay. Pedro Pizarro.—The relations of Cortes.—Nunno de Guzman.—Diego Fernandez de Palentia.—*Augustino de Zarate.*—The Pontifical History.—Don Alonzo de Ercilla.—Geronimo Benzon.—Theodore de Brye.—Jusepe de Acosta.—Father Augustino Davila.—Garcilasso Inga.—Gabriel Lasso de la Vega.—Don Antonio de Saavedra.

In the Catalogue of Spanish Books and Manuscripts consulted by our illustrious Historian of America, William Robertson,

BERTSON, an edition of Herrera is quoted as printed at Madrid in 1601, in 4 vols. folio. We have used on the present occasion the Translation of Herrera into English by Captain John Stevens, in 6 vols. 8vo. printed at London in 1725. Though assuredly authentic and to be depended upon so far as it goes, the plan of this *General History of the vast Continent and Islands of America*, is exceedingly ill devised, and very troublesome for being consulted; as the author endeavours continually to preserve the chronological series of events throughout the numerous discoveries, colonizations and conquests of the Spaniards, in all the islands and continental provinces of Spanish America, by which he is forced into perpetual and abrupt transitions from subject to subject; instead of using a double arrangement, geographical as well as chronological, in which the narrative belonging to each territorial division might have been distinctly and separately arranged in chronological order. Thus in regard to *Florida*, which constitutes the subject of our present chapter, we have had to travel through every one of the *six* volumes of Herrera, on purpose to reduce all the scattered notices respecting the early discovery of that country under one unbroken narrative.

Owing to the utter impossibility of ascertaining the various parts which were visited by the Spaniards, in these early peregrinations in Florida as related in this chapter, we have not given any map of the country on this occasion, which will be supplied in a future division of this work, when we come to particular and more recent travels in that province of North America. Indeed the country originally named Florida by the Spaniards was vastly more extensive than the modern application of that name, and appears to have included all Louisiana, with Georgia the Carolinas and Virginia, and the entire countries on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. In fact it was meant as a generic term, including all of the eastern parts of north America, not previously comprised under New Spain and its dependencies; just as Virginia was applied in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to all that part of North America claimed by the English, which was afterwards partitioned into many provinces, from Nova Scotia to Georgia both inclusive. Besides, a map to serve the purposes of the present chapter is of almost impossible construction, as all the appellations of towns and territories, especially in the extensive peregrinations of Ferdinand de Soto, are merely the fugaci-

ous names of the caciques or sachems who happened at the time to rule over the various tribes of savages which were visited by Soto in his singularly erratic expedition. One point only in the whole course of his wanderings can be ascertained with certainty, the Bay of *Espirita Santo* on the western coast of Florida, in about lat. 28° N. and long. 83° W. *Mavila* may possibly be what has since been called *Mobile*, and the *Rio Grande* or great river was most probably the Mississippi. All the other points are involved in impenetrable obscurity, or would require an extended discussion inadmissible on the present occasion. In the course of the chapter some conjectures will be attempted respecting the geography of the wanderings of Soto and his adventurous followers, whose sole object appears to have been to search for mines of the precious metals, in which they were altogether unsuccessful.

One circumstance, to be gathered from the peregrinations of Soto seems worthy of remark; that the scattered tribes then occupying the southern portion of North America which he visited, were more agricultural than when the country came afterwards to be colonized by the English, and not addicted to the horrible practices of the North American savages of torturing their prisoners taken in war. Perhaps they were afterwards extirpated by a more savage race from the north-west, who have no hereditary chiefs, as were found by Soto. From these differences, and their worship of the sun and moon, the tribes met with by Soto were probably branches of the Natches, a nation which will be described in the sequel of this work, and which does not now exist.

SECTION I.

Discovery of Florida, by Juan Ponce de Leon.

AFTER the settlement of Hispaniola in peace by Obando, Juan Ponce de Leon was appointed lieutenant of the town and territory of Salveleon in that island. Learning from the Indians of that district that there was much gold in the island of Borriquen, now called San Juan de Puerto Rico, or Porto Rico, he procured authority from Obando to go over to that island, which he reduced[1]. He was afterwards appointed by the king of Spain to the government of that island, independent of

1 Herrera, I. 327.

of the admiral Don James Columbus. In a war between De Leon and the natives, wonderful havoc was made among these poor people by a dog belonging to the governor, called Bezerillo, insomuch that the Indians were more afraid of ten Spaniards with this dog than of a hundred without him, on which account the dog was allowed a share and a half of all the plunder, as if he had been a cross-bow-man, both in gold, slaves, and other things, all of which was received by his master [2].

Having acquired much wealth, and being deprived of the government of Porto Rico, Juan Ponce de Leon determined upon making discoveries to the northwards, that he might gain honour and advance his estate [3]. For this purpose, he fitted out three ships well manned and stored with plenty of provisions, with which he sailed from the port of St German on Thursday the 3d of March 1512, steering for *Aguada*. Next night he stood to the N. W. and by N. and on the 8th of the same month came to anchor at the shoals of *Babecua*, near the *Isola del Viejo*, in lat. 22°½ N. Next day he anchored at one of the Bahama or Lucayos islands called *Caycos*, and then at another called *Yaguna*, in lat. 24° N. On the 11th he came to the island of *Amaguayo*, and then passed *Manegua*, in lat. 24°½ N. He came to *Guanahani*, in lat. 25½ N. on the 14th, where he refitted the ships before crossing the bay to windward of the Lucayos. This island of Guanahani was the first land discovered by the admiral Don Christopher Columbus in the New World, and by him called *San Salvador*. From thence De Leon steered to the north-west, and on Sunday the 27th of March, being Easter-day, called *Pasqua de Flores* by the Spaniards, he saw and passed by an island. Continuing the same course till Wednesday 30th of March, when the wind became foul, he altered his course to W.N.W. and on the 2d of April came to nine fathoms water a league from the land, in lat. 30° 8′ N. Running along the land in search of a harbour, he anchored at night in eight fathoms near the shore. Believing the land to be an island, he gave it the name of *Florida*, because it appeared very delightful with many pleasant groves, and all level, as also because

2 Herrera, I. 339.

3 Id. II. 33. We now enter upon the discovery of Florida, which will be found regularly referred to the fragments of its History, as scattered through the work of Herrera, at each respective transition.—E.

cause first seen during Easter, which the Spaniards call *Pasqua de Flores*, or *Florida*. At this place Ponce went on shore to take formal possession.

On Friday the 8th of April he continued his course along the coast as before; and next day changed to the S. and by E. till the 20th, when he perceived some *bohios*, or Indian huts on the coast, off which he came to anchor. Next day the ships continued their course along shore, but met with so strong a current as drove them back though with a fair wind. The two ships nearest the shore dropt their anchors, but the force of the current was so great as to strain their cables. The third was a brigantine, and farther out at sea; which either found no bottom for anchoring, or did not perceive the current, so that it was carried to sea and lost sight of by the rest, though the weather was fair. Being invited on shore by the natives, Ponce landed, and the natives immediately endeavoured to seize the boat, oars, and arms of the Spaniards, who were forced to fight in their own defence, during which two of them were wounded with darts and arrows pointed with sharp bones. Night parted the combatants, and Ponce collected his people with some difficulty, having done very little damage to the Indians, and returned to the ships. He sailed next day along the coast to a river, which he named *Rio de la Cruz*, where he proposed to wood and water and to wait the return of the brigantine. He was opposed at this place by sixty Indians, one of whom was made prisoner, that he might learn Spanish, and be able to give information respecting the country. Leaving at this place a stone with an inscription, he doubled the Cape of Florida on Sunday the 8th of May, giving it the name of *Cabo de las Corrientes*, or Cape Currents, because they are there stronger than the wind; after which he came to anchor near an Indian town called *Aboaia*. All this coast, from Cape *Arracifes* to Cape *Corrientes* lies north and south one point east, being clear and free from rocks and shoals, with six fathoms water near the shore.

After passing Cape Corrientes, he sailed on till he fell in with two islands to the southwards, in lat. 27° N. At one of these, which he named *Santa Martha*, about a league in circumference, he watered. On Friday the 13th of May, he sailed along a shoal with a chain of islands, to one called *Pola*, in 26° 30′ N. Between these islands and the continent is a spacious sea like a bay. On the 15th of May he proceeded

ceeded ten leagues along the chain of small islands, to two white ones which he called *Los Martires* in 26° 15′ N. He continued along the coast, sometimes N. sometimes N.E. till the 23d of May, and on the 24th ran along the coast to the southwards as far as some small islands that lay out at sea, still believing that he was coasting along the shore of a large island. As the anchorage between these small islands and the coast appeared convenient for the purpose, he continued there till the 3d of June taking in wood and water, and at the same time careened one of the ships named the St Christopher. At this place the Indians for the first time came off in canoes to view the Spaniards, who refused to venture on shore though repeatedly invited. Seeing the Spaniards about to heave one of the anchors, on purpose to shift its situation, the Indians laid hold of the cable as if to draw the ship away; on which the long-boat was sent after them, and the crew going on shore took four women and broke two old canoes. No hostilities of any moment occurred, and the Indians even bartered some skins and low gold with the Spaniards for trinkets.

On Friday the 4th of June, while waiting for a wind to go in quest of a cacique named *Carlos*, who was reported by the Indians to have gold, an Indian came on board who was able to converse with the Spaniards, and who was consequently supposed to be a native of Hispaniola or of some of the other islands possessed by the Christians. This man desired them to remain at their present anchorage, as the cacique intended to send gold to barter. Accordingly, they soon after saw twenty canoes approaching, some of which were lashed two and two together. Some of these canoes went to the anchors, which they endeavoured to weigh, but being unable attempted to cut the cables, while others of them drew near the ships and began to fight. The long-boat well manned and armed was sent against them, and put them to flight, taking four prisoners and killing several of the Indians. Ponce sent two of the prisoners to tell the cacique that he was willing to make peace with him, although he had slain one of the Spaniards. Next day the boats were sent to sound the harbour, and some of the men landed, when they were assured by the Indians that the cacique would come next day to trade; but this was a mere feint to gain time, as at eleven o'clock eighty canoes well equipped and full of men attacked the ship nearest the shore, and fought till night without doing any harm, as all their arrows fell short, and they durst not come

near

near for fear of the cross-bows and great guns. At length they retired, and the Spaniards having staid nine days resolved to return to St Domingo and Porto Rico, endeavouring to discover some islands by the way of which they had received accounts from the Indians. Ponce accordingly set sail on his return on the 14th of June, and sailed among islands till the 21st, when he arrived at the small islands called *Las Tortugas*, or the tortoises, because the crews took 170 of these creatures in a short time of one night in one of these islands, and might have had more if they pleased. They also took fourteen dog-fishes [4], and killed at least 5000 seagulls and other birds.

On the 24th, leaving Tortugas, they steered S. W. and by W. On the 26th they saw land, which they sailed along till the 29th, when they came to anchor to trim their yards and sails, but could not tell what country it was. Most of the Spaniards believed they were on the coast of Cuba, because they found canoes, dogs, knives, and others tools of iron. On the 25th of July they were among a cluster of low islands, still ignorant of where they were, till Ponce sent to view an island which appeared to be Bahama, as indeed it was said to be by an old woman whom they found in another island, and in which they were confirmed by a pilot named Diego Miruelo, who happened to be there in a boat from Hispaniola. Having ranged backwards and forwards till the 23d of September, and refitted the ships, Juan Ponce resolved to send one of them to take a view of the island of Bimini, which the Indians reported to contain much wealth, and to have a spring which made old people young again. Juan Perez de Ortubia was appointed captain of that ship, and Antonio de Alaminos pilot. They took two Indians along with them to point out the shoals, which were so numerous that it was both difficult and dangerous to get through among them. Twenty days afterwards, Juan Ponce returned to Porto Rico, and was followed some time after by Ortubia, who had found the island of Bimini, which was large, pleasant, and abounding in good water and delightful groves; but the wonderful spring was not be discovered. It is certain that Juan Ponce de Leon, besides the main design of discovering new islands which all the Spaniards then aspired to, was desirous of finding out the spring of Bimini and a certain river in Florida, in

4 Probably Sharks.—E.

in both of which it was asserted by the natives of Cuba and Hispaniola that old people became young again by bathing in their waters. It is likewise well known that many of the natives of Cuba, firmly believing the existence of such a river, had gone over into Florida in search of it, and had built a town there before the coming of the Spaniards to the West Indies, and that their descendents continue there to this day. This report prevailed among all the princes or caciques in these parts, who were all so anxious to find out this wonderful river, that there was not a river, brook, or lake in all Florida in which some of them had not bathed, and many still persist in the belief that it is the river now called Jordan at Cape *Santa Elena*, without reflecting that the Spaniards first gave it that name in 1520, when the country of Chicora was discovered.

Although this voyage turned out to little or no account to Juan Ponce, it yet encouraged him to go to court to sue for some reward for having discovered this new country, which he still continued to believe an island or cluster of islands, and which opinion was retained by the Spaniards for some years. Yet this voyage was actually beneficial on another account, by the discovery of a passage to Spain from the West Indies through the channel of Bahama, which was first performed by the pilot Alaminos. For the better understanding the voyage of Ponce, it must be observed that the Lucayo or Bahama Islands consist of three groups. The *first*, or Bahama cluster gives name to the passage, and in which the currents are most impetuous: The *second* is called *De los Organos;* and the *third* the *Martyrs*, which are next to the *Cayos de las Tortugas*, or Turtle Keys to the westwards; which last are not to be seen from any distance, being all low sands, and in consequence many ships have perished on them, and all along the Bahama channel, and on the islands of Tortugas. Havannah in the island of Cuba and Florida, are south and north of each other; and between them are these before-mentioned islands of Organos, Bahama, Martyres, and Tortugas, having a channel with a violent current, twenty leagues across in the narrowest part between Havannah and the Martyrs, and fourteen leagues from the Martyrs to Florida. The widest part of this channel is forty leagues, with many shoals and deep channels between these, but has no safe passage for ships, and is only practicable for canoes. But this passage from the Havannah for Spain, is along the channel

of

of Bahama, between the Havannah, the Martyrs, the Lucayos, and Cape Canaveral.

No farther attempt appears to have been made towards the conquest and settlement of Florida by the Spaniards, till the year 1528, when Panfilo de Narvaez made a most disastrous expedition to that country, which will form the subject of the ensuing section of this chapter; except that about the year 1525, the licentiate Luke Vasquez de Ayllon sailed with three ships for that country from Santjago in the island of Hispaniola [5]. Vasquez arrived with his small armament at Cape Santa Elena in Florida, where he found an Indian town called *Oritza*; since named *Chicora* by the Spaniards, and another town in the neighbourhood called *Guale*, to which the Spaniards have given the name of *Gualdape*. At this place is the river *Jordan*, so named from the pilot by whom it was discovered, and where Vasquez lost one of his ships. He proceeded however in his enterprise with the other two ships, and landed two hundred men upon the coast of Florida; but being himself unacquainted with military discipline, and little regarded by his men, his troops were defeated by the natives and mostly slain. The few who escaped returned to Hispaniola; some alleging that Vasquez was of the number, while others assert that he was slain in Florida. In this unfortunate expedition, from which great consequences had been expected, no other towns but the two above mentioned were seen in Florida; and by this disaster all attempts for the conquest and settlement of that country were laid aside for some time, more especially as all the natives who had been there met with appeared poor and miserable, and having very small quantities of gold and silver, and even what little they had appeared to have been brought to them from remote parts of the country.

SECTION II.

Narrative of a Disastrous attempt by Panfilo de Narvaez to conquer Florida; together with some account of that Country [1].

THE abortive attempt of Panfilo de Narvaez to supersede Cortes in the command of the expedition against Mexico has been

5 Herrera, III. 367.
1 Id. IV. 27.

been already related. He afterwards endeavoured to settle a colony at the *Rio de las Palmas* in the bay of Mexico, whence he was expelled by the arrogance of Nunno de Guzman, who had been appointed governor of the adjoining province of Panuco, and endeavoured to appropriate the territories belonging to others in his neighbourhood to his own advantage and emolument in the most unjustifiable manner. In March 1528, Narvaez sailed from Cuba with four ships and a brigantine for the conquest of Florida, having a force of about four hundred men with eighty horses. During the voyage, the squadron was carried among the shoals of Canarreo by the unskilfulness of the pilot Meruelo, where the ships got aground and remained for fifteen days constantly touching with their keels and unable to get into deep water. At the end of this period a storm at south brought so large an accession of water from the bay upon these flats that the ships got off. At *Guaniguanigo* they encountered another storm in which they were near perishing, and met with a third at Cape Corrientes. Three days after getting to windward of Cape St Antonio, they were driven by contrary winds to within twelve leagues of the Havannah; and when about to put in there for shelter were carried back by a south wind to the coast of Florida, where they arrived on the 12th of April, and came to anchor in the mouth of a bay where they could perceive some Indian huts on the shore[2]. Alonzo Enriquez, the comptroller of the armament, hailed the natives from a small island in the bay, and procured from them some fish and venison by means of barter.

Next day, Narvaez went on shore with as many men as the boats could carry, and found the dwellings of the natives abandoned, one of them being large enough to contain three hundred men. In the houses were found a number of fishing nets, and along with these a sort of tabor or drum, ornamented with gold bells. On the day following, Narvaez landed all the rest of his men, and forty-two horses, the others having died during the voyage. Narvaez took formal possession of the country in the name of the king of Spain. Some of the Indians drew near that day, but having no interpreter they could not be conversed with, though it appeared by their threatening

2 Having no indications whatever of the place of landing, it is quite impossible to attempt tracing the steps of Narvaez in his short and disastrous expedition to Florida.—E.

threatening signs that they warned the Spaniards to leave their country. On the same day Narvaez marched northwards into the country, with forty men and six horses, and came to a large bay which seemed to penetrate far into the interior. Having halted at that place for the night, he returned next day to the ships. The pilot Meruelo was sent in the brigantine to find out a harbour for the squadron, and to endeavour to procure provisions. Having taken four prisoners, some maize was shewn them, to endeavour to discover if the natives were acquainted with that grain, as none had been seen hitherto in the country. They accordingly offered by signs to lead the Spaniards to where some of it could be procured, and guided them to the town or village where they dwelt, where some maize was growing in a field in the environs. In the same place, they found some Spanish chests, in each of which was a dead body wrapped up in painted deers skins; and as the commissary Juan Xuarez considered this to be some idolatrous institution, he ordered the chests and bodies to be burned. They likewise found some pieces of linen and woollen cloth, with several plumes of feathers which seemed to have come from Mexico, and a small quantity of gold. Being interrogated by signs whence these things were procured, the Indians made them understand by similar means that there was great abundance of gold in a province at a very great distance called *Apalache* [3].

Twelve leagues from thence they came to an Indian town consisting of fifteen houses, near which there was great plenty of maize just ripe. Narvaez and others were of opinion that they should march immediately into the interior, sending the ships

3 The name of Apalache is now given to a large bay on the western coast of East Florida, and towards its northern extremity, the bottom or northern extremity of which is in lat. 30° N. and long. 67° 15′ W. where a small river named St Marks enters the sea. The river Apalachicola, likewise named R. des Cahuilas, or Catahoche, runs into the western part of the same bay by two mouths, the easternmost of which is about fifteen miles S. W. of St Marks River, and western mouth about twenty miles farther to the W. S. W. The same name is applied to the south western extremity of the great range of mountains in the middle states of North America; dividing the Atlantic country from the western waters which run into the Ohio, called Blue Mountains, Alleghany Mountains, and Apalachean Mountains. These last divide North Carolina from the sources of the Tenassee and Cumberland rivers. A part likewise of Georgia, east from the Apalachicola river, along the northern boundary of East Florida, is still named the Apalachi country. —E.

ships in search of a safe harbour on the coast; but the treasurer of the expedition, Alvar Nunnez Cabeza de Vaca, advised that they should all embark till such time as a safe harbour could be discovered. The other opinion prevailed, and the whole land forces set out upon their march on the 1st of May, being about three hundred foot and forty horse, every man carrying two pounds of biscuit, and half a pound of bacon. With only that scanty provision, they proceeded for fifteen days, finding nothing to eat in the country, except some *palmetoes* like those of Andalusia, and without seeing any towns, house, or Indians in the whole way. At this time they came to a river which they crossed, some by swimming and others on rafts or floats, which employed them a whole day in consequence of the strength of the current. They were opposed by about two hundred Indians on the opposite bank, who only threatened them without coming to blows. Of these they took six prisoners who conducted the Spaniards to their dwellings, where they found a considerable quantity of Indian corn, which proved a great relief to their urgent necessities. From this place two officers were sent with a detachment in search of the sea-coast, in hopes of establishing a communication with the ships; but all they found was a creek only fit for receiving canoes.

After a short stay, they marched onwards in quest of the province of *Apalache*, which the Indians had reported to be rich in gold, guided in the way by some of their prisoners. After marching fifteen days without meeting with any inhabitants, they fell in with an Indian chief, who was dressed in a painted deers skin, carried on the back of one of his subjects, and attended by a great number of Indians, some of whom went before him playing upon a kind of pipes made of reeds. On being informed by signs that the Spaniards were in search of the province of Apalache, he seemed to intimate that he was an enemy to the people of that country. The Spaniards gave this cacique beads, hawk-bells, and other such trinkets, and continued their march. They came that night to a river which was so rapid that they durst not venture to cross it on floats, and were therefore obliged to construct a canoe for that purpose. Juan Velasquez ventured to attempt crossing it by swimming his horse, but both were drowned, and the Indian attendants on the cacique drew the drowned horse from the river and eat him for their supper. On their arrival at the town belonging to the cacique, they were supplied with Indian

Indian corn, and next day were guided on their way through thick woods, in which the road was obstructed by many fallen trees, and the fragments of others which had been shivered by lightning, as the country was subject to severe thunderstorms. On the 25th of June, Narvaez and his people came in sight of Apalache, without having been perceived by any of the inhabitants; and, though weary and hungry they were all in high spirits, thinking themselves at the end of their labours, and that they should find some great treasure in recompence of their fatigues. Some horsemen immediately entered the place, in which they found only women and children; but the men soon returned and attacked them with their bows and arrows, and were soon repulsed, yet killed the comptrollers horse. This town of Apalache contained forty low huts or cabins, enclosed among thick woods and morasses in which they found abundance of maize, deer-skins, mantles, head-dresses for women, and stones for grinding corn, but no gold. All the country, from the place where the Spaniards landed to Apalache was one continued sandy flat, yet thickly overgrown with woods of walnut, laurel, liquidamber, cedar, savine, oak, pine, and palmetoes; interpersed with many swamps or morasses which were very troublesome to pass, and many fallen trees which lay athwart the way. In their march they saw three different kinds of deer, hares, rabbits, bears, and *lions* [4], with other wild beasts; and among these an animal called the opossum, which carries its young in a pouch under the belly till they are able to shift for themselves. The country is cold [5], and has good pasture for cattle. In the woods and marshes through which they passed they saw many different kinds of birds, as geese, ducks, herons, partridges, falcons, hawks, and many others. Two hours after the arrival of the Spaniards, the inhabitants of Apalache came to demand their wives and children, all of whom were set free; but as the cacique was detained they were much displeased, and came next day to assault the place, endeavouring to set fire to their own houses, but on the appearance

4 It is hardly necessary to say that there are no lions in America. The Spaniards must accordingly have given this name to the cougar, now called the panther by the North Americans, a very inferior species of the feline race.—E.

5 This must be considered as in comparison with the climate of Cuba and Hispaniola, to which the Spaniards had been long accustomed, as the climate of Florida is certainly hot in reference to any part of Europe.—E.

ance of the Spaniards they fled to the morasses; and next day a similar attempt was made but with the same consequences.

The Spaniards remained twenty-five days at this place, during which time they made three incursions into the country to some distance, finding it every where ill-inhabited and difficultly penetrable, owing to similar obstacles with those they had already encountered. From the cacique whom they had in custody, they were informed that Apalache was one of the best towns in these parts, and that on going farther inland the land was worse and more thinly peopled. He added, that at nine days journey southwards there was a town called *Aute* near the sea, inhabited by a tribe in amity with him, who had plenty of provisions. Taking this information into consideration, and especially as the Indians of Apalache did them considerable injury by frequent assaults, and always retreated to their fortresses in the marshes, the Spaniards determined upon returning towards the sea. On the second day of their retrograde march, they were attacked by the Indians while passing across a morass, and several both men and horses were wounded, without being able to take vengeance on their enemies, as they always fled into the water. These Indians were of large stature and well made, very nimble, and went entirely naked, being armed with bows as thick as a mans arm and twelve spans long. They marched in this manner, under continual assaults, for eight days, at the end of which period they came to the town of Aute, where they got Indian corn, pompions, kidney-beans, and other provisions. From this place the treasurer, Cabeza de Vaca, was sent with a party to endeavour to find the sea; but came back in three days, reporting that the sea was far off, and he had only been able to reach some creeks which penetrated deep into the land. They had already travelled two hundred and eighty leagues from the place at which they first landed, in all which way they had seen neither mountain nor even any thing which could be called a hill[6]. The men were become much dejected and very sickly, and no longer able to travel so as to endeavour to make their way back to where they left the ships; in which miserable condition it was resolved to build

6 Their wandering had probably been in the country of the Creeks, in the western parts of Georgia, and the two rivers they crossed may have been the Catahoche and Mobile; but we have no indications from which to form any onjecture as to the part of the coast on which they built their ill-fated barks.—E.

build some barks for the purpose of making their way along shore in search of the ships. They accordingly constructed five barks, each of them twenty cubits long, which they caulked with the husks of palmetoes, making ropes of the manes and tails of their horses, and sails of their shirts; but were hardly able to find enough of stones to serve for ballast and anchors.

They embarked on the 22d of September, after having eaten all their horses, and having lost above forty of their men from sickness, besides several who were slain by the Indians. Their barks were hardly able to carry them, and they had no sailors among them to direct their perilous navagation. After five days painful progress among intricate creeks [7], they came at last to an island, where they found five canoes abandoned by the Indians, and on going into a house they found some dried skates which were a very acceptable though scanty relief to their necessities. Proceeding onwards with the help of these canoes, they suffered extremely for want of water, during which five of them died in consequence of drinking sea-water too freely. Owing to this necessity they were again obliged to land on the continent, where they found water and fish ready dressed in some Indian houses. At night these people attacked them, and the cacique of Apalache whom they had hitherto kept along with them made his escape, leaving a mantle of sables behind him so strongly scented with ambergris that it could be smelt from a considerable distance. Obliged to reimbark, and the weather proving stormy, the barks were all dispersed, and none of them ever more heard of except that in which Cabeza de Vaca was, which was thrown ashore. Panfilo de Narvaez and most of his men were assuredly lost in the storm, or destroyed by the Indians on shore; though there was a foolish report long current that he had penetrated to the South Sea.

SECTION III.

Adventures and wonderful escape of Cabeza de Vaca, after the loss of Narvaez.

WHEN cast on shore, as mentioned at the close of the former section, Cabeza de Vaca and the people along with him were

7 These intricacies may possibly have been between Mobile Bay, and the western bay of Spiritu Santo at the mouths of the Missisippi.—E.

were relieved by the Indians; and on endeavouring again to put to sea, the bark was overset, three of the Spaniards were drowned, and Cabeza and a few more got again on shore, naked and without arms. On seeing the miserable plight of these unhappy Spaniards, the Indians came to them with provisions, sat down by them and lamented their misfortunes, carried them to their houses, and made fires by the way to warm them, otherwise they must have perished with the cold, as they were naked and it was now the month of November. They were put into a house with a good fire, the natives dancing all night close by them, which the Spaniards were sadly afraid was a prelude to their being sacrificed next day. But as they were plentifully supplied with provisions they began to recover their spirits and confidence next day. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were soon afterwards joined by the Spaniards who had escaped from the wreck of another bark. At first they were in all eighty men; but in a short time their number was reduced to fifteen, as they were forced to winter on the island, exposed to excessive cold and great scarcity of provisions. Owing to their misfortunes, they called this *Isola de Mal-hado*, or the isle of Bad-Luck [1].

The inhabitants of this island were of large stature, their only weapons being bows and arrows. The men had one of their nipples bored, wearing a piece of reed in the hole, and a similar ornament in their under lip. They dwelt in this island from October to February, feeding much on certain roots. In the months of November and December they caught fish in a kind of wears inclosed with reeds; but these were not to be got at any other time. At the latter end of February, when all the roots were eaten, they were forced to remove from the island in search of food elsewhere. These natives were extraordinarily fond of their children, the parents and kindred lamenting for such as died during a whole year, after which they completed the funeral ceremonies, and washed off the black paint they had worn in token of mourning. They did not lament for the death of the old, alleging that they had lived their time, and that they took away the food which

1 As we have no information in the text which could lead to suppose that Cabeza ever crossed the great river Missisippi, either before landing on the island of Mal-hado, or in his subsequent journey to New Spain, the isle of Bad-Luck may have been to the west of the Missisippi.—E.

which ought to go to the children. All the dead were buried, except the *physicians* [2], whose bodies were burnt, and their ashes kept for a year, after which these ashes were mixed with water and drank by the relations of the deceased. Every man was contented with one wife; but these physicians had usually two or three each, who lived together very amicably. When a man engages to marry the daughter of another, he gives her all he possesses, and sends to the father of his bride every thing he kills, and in return his diet is sent him from the house of his father-in-law, as he is not permitted to enter the house during the first year of the marriage. Should his father-in-law or any of the brothers of his wife meet him during that time, they always look down and pass on without speaking; yet in that period the woman converses freely with the father or other relations of her husband. These customs are observed both in the island of *Mal-hado* and through all the country of Florida for fifty leagues inland. When a son or brother dies, the people of the house will rather starve than go in quest of any thing to eat during three months, in all which time the relations of the family send in all that is necessary for their sustenance. Owing to this, several families in Mal-hado were in great straits while the Spaniards resided among them, as many had died and the survivors strictly observed the custom. The houses in the island were of mats, and strewed with oyster shells, on which they lay at night stark naked round the fire. The inhabitants of the province of *Tegesta* [3], reaching from the Martyrs to Cape Cannaveral, feed better than those Indians among whom Cabeza resided, being extraordinarily expert fishers. Two of them will venture out in a small canoe to attack whales when any are seen upon the coast. One of them steers or paddles the canoe; while the other, being provided with two or three stakes and a mallet, leaps into the sea as soon as he sees a whale rise to the surface, gets upon its head, and immediately drives one of the stakes into one of the spiracles or blowing holes by which the whale breathes. The whale immediately dives to the bottom; and when forced to come up again to breathe, he repeats the operation and plugs up the other spiracle, so that

2 So called by the translator of Herrera, but perhaps these were a kind of priests or conjurers.—E.

3 In some modern maps *Tegesta* is considered as the southern extremity of the province of East Florida.—E.

that it cannot get breath and is soon suffocated. When the whale dies, they fasten a line of withes or twisted branches to its neck, and tow it to the shore, where it serves a long while for them to feed upon.

Cabeza de Vaca and the remnant of his unfortunate companions remained in the isle of Mal-hado till the end of April 1529, by which time all the food in the island being devoured, the whole population was forced by hunger to go over to the continent of Florida, where they fed upon wild berries. The Spaniards were obliged to act as physicians to the natives, as otherwise they were refused food. In the exercise of this profession, they made the sign of the cross on the parts affected, reciting the *Pater noster*, and prayed to God to heal their patients, who all affirmed that they derived great benefit from these ceremonies, and supplied the Spaniards with food in return. There were two languages used among these natives within a very little distance, those who spoke the one being called *Capoques*, and the others *Han*. When the natives happened to meet together after a long separation, they would often sit down and weep for half an hour before they began to converse.

All the remaining Spaniards, to the number of fourteen, went away along the coast, leaving Cabeza de Vaca behind, who happened to be sick and unable to travel. On his recovery, he had to search among the water for roots[4] on which to support himself. Wearied of this uncomfortable manner of life, and being entirely naked, he went away among a tribe called the *Charrucos*, who dwelt among mountains, where he fared much better, as he turned merchant, going about from place to place bartering such things as they wanted, and in this way he travelled over forty or fifty leagues of the coast. He dealt in sea-shells like those of snails which were used as beads, and in a different kind of shells which were used instead of knives; and in return for these he procured deer-skins, vermillion, and ochre, with which the natives paint themselves, flints for pointing arrows, a kind of bitumen with which these arrow heads are fastened, and reeds with which the arrow shafts are made, as also tufts of deers hair dyed red, which are used as ornaments. By means of this

4 Probably the translator has mistaken the original of this passage, and Cabeza may have searched for shell fish adhering to the roots of trees under water.—E.

this trade Cabeza de Vaca had liberty to go wherever he pleased, and was well received wherever he went, receiving provisions in return for his merchandize.

Cabeza de Vaca continued in this mode of life to the year 1535, always well entertained, and always travelling towards the south west to gain ground in hopes of regaining his liberty by getting out of the country into Mexico[5]. Though naked and alone, and enduring much hunger and cold, he enjoyed his liberty, and remained six years in that part of the country, always in hopes of being able to bring away his two remaining countrymen, Oviedo and Alanis, who had tarried in the island of Mal-hado. At length Alanis died, and he set off along with Oviedo. Coming to a creek near a mile in breadth, supposed by them to be that called *Del Espiritu Santo*[6], they were informed by some Indians that they would find three men like themselves farther on, whose names they told. They also said that the Indians had slain Orantes, Valdivieso, Huelva, Esquibel, and Mendez[7]; but that the three who still lived were very ill used, especially by the boys, who kicked, beat, and abused them for their amusement. At this time the Indians treated Cabeza and Oviedo very ill, so that Oviedo went back along with some of the natives, but Cabeza stayed and they two never met more.

Two days after the departure of Oviedo, the Indians with whom Orantes resided came to the banks of this creek to eat nuts, on which they fed two months of the year. Orantes went to visit Cabeza who had been hidden by some Indians who favoured him, and it was a great satisfaction to these friends to meet, though in great trouble as being naked and miserable in a land of savages. They agreed to endeavour to proceed to the south-west, but to remain with the Indians till the nuts were consumed, and then to remove along with them to another place where they fed upon *tunas*; because if they should attempt to escape the Indians would kill them. All

5 Herrera, V. 92.

6 It is quite impossible to form any reasonable conjecture as to the situation of this creek, which could not be the bay of Espiritu Santo in East Florida, nor that of the same name nearly opposite in West Florida at the mouth of the Missisippi.—E

7 There is considerable difficulty to understand the translation here, as Mr Stevens does not seem to have understood his original. Orantes appears in the sequel to have been still alive; but we must take the translation as it is, not having the original to consult.—E.

All the rest belonging to the expedition had perished, some having been stoned to death by the natives, and others drowned, among whom was Panfilo de Narvaez, as Figueroa, who was present, related to Cabeza. Among these Indians who fed upon *tunas* they endured much hunger, as there was not enough for them all. In that country there were grey and black wild cattle of low stature, like those of Barbary, having very long hair, but their flesh was coarser than the beef of Spain. Having concerted to make their escape, the Indians among whom they lived had a quarrel on account of a woman, and parted company, so that the Spaniards were obliged to separate likewise, but agreed to meet again at the same place next year, which they did accordingly, but were again separated on the very day when they meant to have fled. Yet they appointed to meet again on the 1st of September, when the moon was full. Two of them came on the 13th and Orantes on the 14th, when they actually fled. Coming to a tribe of Indians called *Avares*, they were well received and procured plenty of provisions, as these people had learnt that the Christians performed cures. That same night three Indians came to wait upon them who were troubled with pains in their heads, desiring Castillo to cure them, and as soon as he had blessed them with the sign of the cross they became well; in reward for which they brought *tunas* and venison, and blazed abroad the wonderful cures which had been performed upon them by the strangers. In consequence of this so many persons came to be cured, and brought with them such abundance of provisions that the Spaniards knew not how to dispose of it, and the Indians made a solemn dance for joy of the cures. The Spaniards intended to have proceeded farther, but on being informed that the country through which they meant to travel was desert, the tunas all eaten, and the climate excessively cold, they agreed to remain with the Avares all winter, who went five days journey into the country to feed on a sort of fruit called *yeros*. When they had settled their habitation near a river, many Indians came with their sick to be cured by Castillo, who blessed them and prayed to God to cure them, as this was the only means they had for subsistence. Next morning they were all well to the great satisfaction and astonishment of the Indians; and for which the Spaniards returned thanks to God, confiding that he would deliver them out of their miserable bondage.

Departing from the *Avares*, the Spaniards came to certain

tribes of Indians called *Maliconas*, *Susolas*, and *Atayos*, among whom their wonderful cures were already known, so that many sick persons were brought to them. But as Castillo was a man who feared God, and despaired of being able to do them good on account of his unworthiness, Cabeza de Vaca was obliged to officiate in his stead. Taking along with him Orantes and the mulatto Estevanillo, he went to visit a sick person in a very dangerous condition, being almost dead, with his eyes turned in his head, and no pulse; and so confident were the Indians of his approaching death that his house was already pulled down according to their custom on such occasions. Cabeza took off the mat from the dying man, prayed to God to restore him to health, and when he had several times blessed the man and breathed on him, the attendants presented him with a bow and arrows and a basket of *tunas*, conducting him to cure others in the same manner. After this the Spaniards returned to their quarters, and were informed by the Indians that the dying man had got up, spoken to his friends, and eaten with them, and that all the rest of their patients were in perfect health. The fame of these cures spread over all the country, so that many other sick persons were brought to them to be healed, bringing presents of provisions. According to their account, the Spaniards remained eight moons among the *Avares*, neither Orantes nor Estevanillo having yet performed any cures, though so much importuned that they were at length forced to comply, being called the *children of the sun*. Being intent on prosecuting their journey, they fled one days journey into the country of the *Maliconas*, where they fed for twelve days on a small kind of fruit till the *tunas* were ripe. Having endured much hunger there for some time, they were directed to the habitations of another tribe which spoke the same language. To add to their sufferings, they lost their way, and it rained very much which distressed them greatly, as they were entirely naked. They rested that night in a wood, where they roasted tunas as food. Next morning, when endeavouring to find out their way, they met a number of women and children who all ran away to call the men, who conducted the Spaniards to their village, consisting of fifty houses. The natives gazed on the strangers with much fear and admiration, touching their faces and bodies; and when recovered from their fright they brought their sick to be cured by them,

them, and even forbore from eating themselves that they might supply the Spaniards with food.

So great is the want of food in all the country from the isle of Mal-hado to this district of the Maliconas, that the natives are often three days without eating; on which account it is the custom of mothers to suckle their children till twelve years of age, and they never have any intercourse with their husbands till two years after delivery. When a married pair do not agree, it is customary for them to part and form new connections, but this is never done when they have children. When the men fall out among themselves they only use their fists or cudgels, never employing their bows and arrows in private broils; and on these occasions the women only venture to interpose to part them. These Indians are very brave, and are as vigilant against their enemies as the best soldiers in Europe. They dig ditches, throw up entrenchments, make loop-holes, lay ambushes, and use various stratagems with great art and patience, usually killing each other by surprise in the night. They are very cruel, are always ready on any alarm, and are watchful of opportunities to take revenge and to gain advantage over any want of foresight in their enemies. When actually engaged in battle, they have a strange manner of skipping about from side to side, to prevent their enemies from taking aim, and they shoot their arrows in a stooping posture, to prevent being observed. Their languages are exceedingly various, changing almost at each town.

Coming to another town, the Indians brought their children to touch the hands of the Spaniards, giving them meal made of a fruit like carobs, which was eaten along with a certain kind of earth, and was very sweet and agreeable. Departing from thence, after passing a great river the water of which reached to their breasts, they came to a town of an hundred houses, whence the people came out to meet them with great shouts, clapping their hands on their thighs, and making a kind of music by means of hollow gourds with stones in them. These Indians received them with great kindness, carrying them to their houses without suffering their feet to touch the ground, and great numbers flocked to them to be blessed. Next day they continued their journey, and were well received by the next Indians, who supplied them with plenty of venison, and brought their sick to be cured. They were equally well treated by the next succeeding tribe, by whom so great rejoicing was made for their ar-

rival, that they could not sleep for the noise. They observed a strange custom among all these Indians, who, when they escorted the Spaniards to another tribe, always plundered the houses they came to. Cabeza and his companions were much concerned at this; but those who had lost their goods in this manner made quite light of the matter, desiring them not to be troubled at it, as they would repay themselves farther on among tribes who were very rich. At this place the Spaniards began to perceive a chain of mountains which they thought extended towards New Spain, and to which they now directed their journey accompanied by the Indians, who pillaged as usual wherever they went. When their guides retired, their new hosts presented the Spaniards with such things as they had hidden, being beads, vermillion, and some small bags of silver.

At this place the Spaniards agreed not to make for the mountainous country, where the inhabitants were reported to be ferocious, but to continue in the low country in which the people were extremely courteous. Many men and women loaded with water bore them company, and their authority was so great that no one would presume to drink without their leave. In this part of their journey they proceeded along a river, having been abandoned by their Indian guides, and were supplied with some meal made of Indian corn by two women. About sun-set they came to a village of about twenty houses, where the inhabitants were in great fear of being plundered by their guides; but were quite rejoiced on seeing them come alone. Next morning, when the Spaniards were about to depart, the inhabitants of the former town came in a body and plundered that in which they had spent the night; telling the inhabitants that these strangers were children of the sun and cured the sick, though able to destroy them all, and therefore that they must be respected; they told them likewise to go and plunder the next town according to custom, and to carry the strangers on their way. The Spaniards were accordingly well treated by this tribe, who carried them on for three days to a place having many houses, sending some before to give an account of what the others had said of the Spaniards, to which they added much of their own invention, being fond of novelty and much addicted to lying, especially where any advantage was expected. The Spaniards were well received, and their guides plundered as much as they could find and then returned to their own habi-

 tations.

tations. From this place the Spaniards travelled above fifty leagues along the face of a mountain, and came to a town of forty houses, in one of which they were shewn a large copper hawks-bell ornamented with a face, which these people valued highly, saying that they got it from a neighbouring tribe. Travelling from thence seven leagues over a mountain, the stones of which were iron ore, they came to some houses on the banks of a river, where the principal men came out to meet them, having their children on their backs, and presented the Spaniards with small bags of fine sand and powdered antimony, with which they daub their faces, and gave them also beads and cloaks made of dressed skins. The food at this place was tunas and the kernels of pine apples, better than those of Spain, but smaller, as were the trees[8].

At this place a man was brought to Cabeza who had been wounded by an arrow, the point of which as he said had reached his heart and gave him much pain, being still there, and he was to all appearance in extreme danger. Cabeza opened his breast with a knife and extracted the arrow head with much difficulty, after which he stitched up the wound and staunched the bleeding with the scrapings of a cows hide. The point of the arrow was exhibited all over the country, and caused much rejoicing. After some days, Cabeza removed the stitches, and the man was quite sound, declaring himself free of pain. This cure acquired the Spaniards so great reputation that they could do any thing they pleased. From this place they proceeded through so many different tribes that it were tedious and indeed impossible to mention them all; and all the way each tribe as they conducted the Spaniards to the next, plundered their neighbours in succession. Through the whole journey the Spaniards had so much company that they knew not how to turn themselves. During their journey the Indians killed many deer, hares, pigeons, and other birds by means of their arrows and spears, all of which they presented to the Spaniards, and would not use them for their own necessities without leave. Sometimes they were attended by above four thousand persons at once, which was extremely troublesome, as none of them would either eat or

8 This surely is a mistake of the translator, as pine apples do not grow on trees, nor are their kernels the edible part. It may possibly have been pine nuts, or something of a similar kind.—E.

or drink till the Spaniards had blessed the food and drink and breathed on them.

They travelled in this manner for upwards of thirty leagues, at the end of which the mode of their reception was considerably changed, as the Indians who accompanied them ceased plundering; yet the tribe at which they arrived offered every thing they had, which was divided among the escort, who then returned to their own dwellings, and this tribe recovered what they had given away in a similar manner on accompanying the Spaniards to the next tribe. In the course of their journey however the Spaniards had to travel for more than fifty leagues through a craggy mountainous country, where they suffered extremely for want of food, till at length they arrived at a plain country where they met with a kind reception, and where their escort received abundance of goods and provisions and then returned to their own habitations. As the people farther on were at war with the tribe where the Spaniards then were, two women were sent on to inform the hostile tribe of the approach of the Christians, as it was usual among these people, even when at war, to continue an intercourse of trade by means of their women. Continuing their journey, the Spaniards were inclined to change the route more to the northwards, as no person came to meet them from the tribe to which the women were sent; but the Indians who accompanied them objected to this measure, as they alleged that the natives in that direction were wicked and cruel, and that besides they would be unable to procure food or water. As the Spaniards were displeased at this interruption, the Indians declared themselves ready to go with them wherever they were pleased to command, even though sure to perish, and they accordingly went on; but as many of the Indians fell sick, and eight of them died in this part of the journey, the other tribes were thrown into great consternation, believing that they should all die upon being visited by the Spaniards. So great was the dread and reverence in which the Spaniards were held by the Indians, who imagined they were the cause of the sickness and death of their countrymen, that they earnestly entreated the Spaniards not to be angry with them. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions became apprehensive that this mortality might estrange the Indians from them, and therefore prayed earnestly to God to put a stop to the sickness, and accordingly all who were sick began immediately to recover.

Three

Three days journey from thence, Orantes and Estevanillo went under the guidance of a female slave to a village in which her father lived, and where they saw the first houses that were built in any thing like regular order, the inhabitants of which cultivated kidney-beans, pompions, and maize. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions went to this place, dismissing their former conductors. At this town a new custom began among the natives. Instead of coming out to meet the Spaniards as had been the case hitherto, the inhabitants were all seated in their houses, hanging down their heads with their hair before their eyes, and all their goods in a heap in the middle of the floor, presenting all they possessed to the strangers. These natives were well shaped and industrious, and their language easily comprehended. The women and such men as were unfit for war were dressed in mantles made of deer skins. After remaining two days among these Indians, who directed them to go in the first place up a river to the northwards, where they would find abundance of wild cattle, and then to turn westwards, in which direction the natives cultivated maize. Following this direction, they proceeded for thirty-four days across the country, till they came at length to the South Sea. In this journey the Spaniards suffered prodigious hardships and were reduced to extremity by famine, having to pass through the territories of a tribe which feeds on pounded straw for a considerable portion of the year, and they had the misfortune to come among them at that period. At length they came to a better country, in which the natives had tolerable houses, with plenty of corn, pompions, and kidney-beans, the people being decently dressed in cotton mantles. From this place their former conductors returned well pleased with the things they procured according to the usual customs among the natives. Cabeza and his companions travelled above an hundred leagues with much satisfaction in this country, blessing God for having brought them at length into a land of plenty, as besides vegetable food in abundance, the natives killed venison and other game, and presented the Spaniards with cotton mantles, coral beads procured from the South Sea, turquoise stones, and several arrow heads made of emeralds, which they procured from a neighbouring nation in exchange for various coloured plumes of feathers.

In this country the women were more modestly clothed than any they had hitherto seen. Every person, whether sick or

or well, came to the Spaniards to be blessed, believing them to be men come down from heaven, so that their authority was unbounded among the natives. It fortunately happened that the Spaniards could make themselves understood wherever they went, although they only knew six of the Indian languages, which would have been of little use if Providence had not preserved them, considering the vast multiplicity of languages spoken among the detached tribes of America. Wherever they travelled, the tribes who happened to be at war immediately made peace at their approach, that they might have the opportunity of seeing the Christians; who thus left them all in amity, and exhorted them wherever they went to worship the one only true God who had created the heaven and earth, the sun, moon, and stars, and all other things, and from whom proceeded all blessing. The Spaniards likewise earnestly urged them to refrain from injuring one another by going to war or taking away the goods of others, with many similar instructions, all of which were well received. The whole country along this coast seemed well peopled, and abounded in provisions, as the natives sowed maize and kidney beans thrice a-year. In one town the natives used poisoned arrows, their points being dipped in the juice of some kind of fruit or plant. At this place they staid three days; and after a days journey, coming to another town, they were obliged to stop for fifteen days, owing to the river being in flood. At this place Castillo observed an Indian who had a sword buckle and a horse shoe hanging from his neck, who alleged that he got them from heaven; but on being farther interrogated, he said that some bearded men had come from heaven to that river, having horses, spears, and swords, who had gone again to sea, where they and their spears plunged under water, but appeared afterwards above it again. Cabeza and his companions joyfully gave thanks to God for hearing some news of Christians after their long and distressing sojourn among the barbarians, and hastened on their journey to find them the sooner, telling all the Indians that they were going to order these bearded men not to kill or make slaves of the natives nor to do them any harm.

In continuing their journey they passed through a considerable extent of fruitful and agreeable country which was totally destitute of inhabitants, all the Indians having fled to the mountains for fear of the Spaniards. They came at length to the top of a hill where a great number of Indians had withdrawn,

drawn, who presented them with a vast quantity of corn, which they gave to the poor famished natives who had escorted them thither. Continuing their journey, they observed many indications of Spaniards having been in the country, and they pressed onwards giving praise to God that their long and miserable captivity seemed near a close. One day, while Cabeza and Estevanillo were in advance, accompanied by eleven Indians, they overtook four Spanish horsemen, who were much astonished at being accosted in their own language by persons in their strange garb and appearance. Cabeza requested to be conducted to their commander, Diego de Alcaraz, who informed him they were now in *New Galicia*, and about thirty leagues from the town of San Miguel. Castillo and Orantes then came up, attended by above six hundred of the Indians who had deserted their habitations from fear of the Spaniards. By their means all the others were induced to return to their houses in peace and to sow the land. Cabeza and his three companions having taken leave of the Indians who accompanied them with many thanks for their protection, travelled twenty-five leagues farther to a place called *Culiacan*[9], where they arrived much spent with long fatigue and after having endured much hunger and thirst during their arduous and anxious peregrinations through the vast wilderness from Florida to New Galicia.

Melchior Diaz, who was captain and alcalde of the province, received them with singular humanity, giving praise to God for having delivered them out of their tedious and miserable captivity, and requested them to use their endeavours to appease the Indians of that part of the country, who were in arms against the Spaniards. This they most readily undertook, and sent messages by some of the Indians to the neighbouring caciques, three of whom came to Culiacan attended by thirty Indians, bringing presents of feathers and emeralds. In conversation with these Indians about their religious belief,

[9] Culiacan, or Hueicolhuacan, on a river of the same name which discharges itself into the Vermilion Sea or Gulf of California, is in lat. 24° 50′ N. long. 106° 40′ W. in the province of Cinaloa. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions had therefore followed an oblique course from the north-east in the south of Louisiana entirely across the continent, to the south-west, from about the latitude of 31° to 25° both north; a journey in all probability exceeding 1200 English miles in a straight line. The beginning of their journey seems to have been to the west of the Missisippi, as that great river is not mentioned; neither indeed do we find any indications of the Rio Bravo del Norte, which they must necessarily have crossed.—E.

lief, they said they believed in a being named *Aguar*, the lord of all things, who resided in heaven and sent them rain when they prayed to him for it; such being the tradition they had learnt from their fathers. Cabeza told them that *Aguar* was GOD the Creator of heaven and earth, who disposed all things according to his holy will, and who, after this life, rewarded the good and punished the wicked. He exhorted them therefore to believe henceforwards in this only true God, to return to their houses and live in peace, to build a house for the worship of God after the manner of the Christians, and when any Spaniards came to visit them, that they should meet them with crosses in their hands, and not with bows and arrows; promising, if they did this, that the Spaniards would be their good friends and would teach them every thing they ought to know, that God might make them happy in the next life. All this the Indians engaged to perform. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions went on from Culiacan for San Miguel[10], attended by a few Indians, the natives by the way coming out to meet them in great numbers with presents, whom they exhorted to become Christians as they were now subjects to the king of Spain. They all received these advices in the most friendly manner, requesting to have their children baptized. While on the road they were overtaken by Alcaraz, by whom they were informed that all the deserted country through which they had lately travelled was again well peopled and in peace, and that the Indians were all occupied in sowing their lands.

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions judged that the extent of country through which they had travelled, from Florida on the Atlantic to San Miguel on the South Sea, could not be less than two hundred leagues[11], as they declared upon oath before a notary at San Miguel on the 15th of May 1536, before whom likewise they subscribed a narrative of all the incidents of their weary pilgrimage. After resting fifteen days in San Miguel, they proceeded to the city of Compostella,

10 San Miguel is not to be found in the most recent map of New Spain by M. de Humboldt; that name may possibly have been given to the city of Mazatlan, in lat. 23° 15′ N. on the coast of Cinaloa.—E.

11 Two hundred Spanish leagues of 17½ to the degree, or about 800 English miles. It has been already stated in a former note that the direct distance they had travelled could not be less than 1200 miles, probably 1600 allowing for deflections.—E.

tella[12], a distance of an hundred leagues, where Nunno de Guzman then was, by whom they were kindly received and furnished with clothes and all other necessaries. From thence they went to Mexico, where they arrived on the 22d of July, and met with a courteous reception from the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza. Leaving Castillo and Estevanillo at Mexico, Cabeza de Vaca and Orantes proceeded to Vera Cruz, whence they passed over into Spain in 1537.

We learn from Herrera[13], that Alvar Nunnez Cabeza de Vaca was sent out in 1540 as governor of the incipient Spanish settlements on the Rio Plata, in which expedition he was accompanied by his former companion in distress Orantes. In the year 1545, he was made prisoner by some mutinous officers of the colony and sent into Spain, where his conduct was cleared by the council of the Indies, yet he was not restored to his government.

SECTION IV.

Narrative of a new attempt to Conquer Florida, by Ferdinand de Soto[1].

FERDINAND DE SOTO, had served with much reputation in Castilla del Oro and Nicaragua, and went with Pizarro upon the conquest of Peru, being even promoted for his worth and valour to the distinguished office of lieutenant-general under Pizarro. On the breaking out of the disturbances

12 San Miguel and Compostella are both omitted in the most recent map of New Spain by Humboldt, though both are inserted in Governor Pownalls map of North America; in which San Miguel is placed about 27 miles S. E. from Culiacan, and Compostella 230 miles S. S. E. from San Miguel; all three near the western coast of New Spain, the former in the province of Culiacan, the latter in that of Guadalaxara.—E.

13 Herrera, V. 342, 390, 402.

1 Herrera, V. 223—239.—This narrative, as will be seen by the series of quotations from Herrera, is broken down by that writer into detached fragments, in consequence of rigid attention to chronological order. In the present instance these are arranged into one unbroken journal, but with no other alteration in the text. It is one of the most curious of our early expeditions of discovery, bearing strong internal evidence of having been taken by Herrera from an original journal, and so far as we know has never been adopted into any former Collection.—E.

ces between the factions of Pizarro and Almagro, he was so much disgusted that he returned into Spain, without having acquired the riches that his services and good qualities deserved, considering the immense wealth which was found in Peru. Aspiring to undertake some brilliant enterprise suited to his lofty genius, he petitioned the king to be allowed to undertake the conquest of Florida, which was readily granted to him, as he was a person of experience, of a fine presence and graceful carriage, and well fitted by the strength of his constitution to encounter the hardships incident to such hazardous enterprises. Since the entire failure and destruction of Panfilo de Narvaez and his armament, as already related, no one had hitherto offered to attempt the reduction of that country till now. Among the terms granted to Soto on this occasion, he was appointed governor of the island of Cuba, which was to serve as a place of arms from whence to conduct the intended conquest of Florida. On the design of this enterprise being made public, near a thousand men were soon raised for the expedition, among whom were many gentlemen of good birth, encouraged by the reputation of the commander, and the hopes of acquiring wealth.

Ten ships were fitted out at San Lucar for carrying out the troops and all the necessary stores, which set sail on the 6th of April 1538, accompanying the fleet for New Spain, the whole being under the supreme command of the adelantado Ferdinand de Soto so far as the island of Cuba, after which the *flota* was to be commanded by Gonzalo de Salazar, the factor of New Spain. To shew his proud and turbulent disposition, on the first night after going to sea, Salazar pushed a cannon shot a-head of all the fleet to affront the admiral, who immediately ordered a shot to be fired at him. The ball went through all the sails of Salazars ship from the poop to the head; and by a second shot, all the side of his ship was torn immediately above the deck. Salazars ship became unmanageable from the injury done to her sails, and on the admiral pushing forwards the two ships ran foul of each other and were both in imminent danger of perishing in the dark, but by cutting all the rigging of the other ship the admiral got clear. Soto was so highly incensed by this haughty conduct of Salazar that he had well nigh ordered him to be beheaded; but forgave him on submission and promise of better behaviour in future.

The fleet arrived safe at Santiago in Cuba. Not long before

fore this a Spanish ship commanded by Diego Perez had an engagement of four days continuance with a French privateer, separating courteously by mutual consent every night, and recommencing furiously every morning; but the Frenchmen slipped off during the fourth night. Immediately on his arrival in Cuba, Soto sent orders to repair the Havannah, which had been burnt by some French privateers, and he ordered a fort to be built for the protection of that place. Having sent some persons of skill to discover and examine the harbours along the coast of Florida, and appointed his lady to administer the government of Cuba in his absence, he prepared to enter upon the great object of his expedition.

Accordingly, having embarked nine hundred men and three hundred and thirty horses, he sailed from the Havannah on the 12th of May 1539, and came to anchor on the last day of that month in the Bay of *Espiritu Santo* on the coast of Florida [2]. He immediately landed three hundred men, who lay on shore all night without seeing a single native. About day-break next day the Spanish detachment was attacked by a prodigious multitude of Indians, and compelled to retreat precipitously to the shore. Basco Porcallo de Figuero was sent with a party to their relief, as the Indians pressed hard upon them with incessant flights of arrows, and the Spaniards being raw soldiers unaccustomed to arms or discipline knew not how to resist. On the approach of Porcallo the Indians were obliged to retire in their turn; yet killed that commanders horse with an arrow, which pierced through the saddle lap and penetrated a span deep into the horses body. All the forces were now landed, and marched about two leagues inland to a town belonging to the cacique *Harrihiagua* [3], who had fled to the mountains lest he should be called to account for his cruelty to the Spaniards who had been here formerly along with Panfilo de Narvaez. None of these

2 It has been already mentioned that there are two bays of this name, one in *East*, and the other *West* Florida. There can be no doubt that the one here mentioned in the text is the former of these, in lat. 27° 48′ N. long. 83° 20′ W. It lies on the western coast of East Florida, and runs about 35 miles into the land, dividing at its head into two coves or bays named Hillsborough and Tampa.—E.

3 This name considerably resembles the names of men and places in Hispaniola and Cuba, hence we may conjecture Harrihiagua to have been cacique over some of the emigrants said to have gone from Cuba to Florida, as mentioned in the first section of this chapter.—E.

these were now alive in the country except one man named Juan Ortiz, who had been saved by the wife of the cacique, who abhorred the cruel disposition of her husband. By her assistance, Ortiz had been enabled to make his escape to another cacique named *Mucozo*, who protected him and used him well. Having learned where this man was, Soto sent Baltasar de Gallegos with sixty horsemen to bring him to the camp, wishing him to act as interpreter with the natives. At the same time Mucozo was sending Ortiz with an escort of fifty Indians to offer peace to the Spaniards. These Indians were all stark naked, except that each wore a small clout, but their heads were ornamented with great plumes of feathers. They all carried bows in their hands, and all had quivers well filled with arrows.

Immediately on seeing the horsemen, the Indians ran for shelter into the wood, being afraid of an attack, and the raw Spaniards went full speed after them in spite of their commander. Ortiz alone remained in the open plain, and was assaulted by Alvaro Nieto with his lance. Ortiz leaped to one side to avoid the lance, and called out in the Indian language having forgot his own by long disuse, but fortunately made the sign of the cross, on which Nieto asked if he were Juan Ortiz. Answering in the affirmative, Nieto took him up behind him on his horse and carried him to his captain Gallegos, who was gathering his men that had dispersed in pursuit of the Indians. Some of the natives never stopped till they reached the town of their cacique, but others were appeased, and seeing one of their companions wounded they exclaimed bitterly against Ortiz, as it had happened through his inadvertence. Soto was much pleased that he had got Ortiz, whom he greatly caressed. He was likewise very kind to the Indians who had accompanied him, and ordered the one who had been wounded to be carefully dressed; and sent by them a message to the cacique Mucozo, thanking him for his kind usage of Ortiz, and offering his friendship.

Ortiz could give very little account of the country, as his whole employment under his first master had been to carry wood and water, and he had never ventured to go out of sight of the other who used him well, lest he might be suspected of endeavouring to escape; but he had been told that the interior of the country was pleasant and fertile. Mucozo came to visit Soto, who entertained him and gave him some Spanish trinkets to secure his friendship. Soon afterwards

wards the mother of the cacique came weeping to the Spaniards, demanding to have her son restored, and begging that he might not be slain. Soto endeavoured to sooth and reassure her, yet she ate of such victuals as were offered with much hesitation, asking Ortiz whether she might eat in safety, as she was fearful of being poisoned, and insisting that Ortiz should taste every thing in the first place. Mucozo remained a week among the Spaniards, amusing himself with the novelty of every thing he saw, and making many inquiries respecting the customs of Spain. During this time Soto endeavoured to learn some particulars respecting the country, remaining always with his troops at the town belonging to Harrihiagua, because near the Bay of the Holy Ghost. At this time he dismissed the ships, that his men might have no hopes of getting away from the country, following in this measure the example of many ancient and modern commanders, and among these Cortes on his invasion of Mexico. He reserved however four of his ships to serve upon particular occasions.

Soto used every means to acquire the friendship of Harrihiagua, giving strict charges that no damage should be done in his country, being extremely unwilling to give the first cause of offence, but nothing could prevail on that cacique to enter into any friendly connection. As some of the men were sent out daily, under a strong escort, to bring in forage for the horses, they were one day suddenly assailed by a multitude of Indians, making such hideous yells as scared them for some time. Before the Spaniards could recover from their panic, the Indians laid hold of a soldier named Grajal, whom they carried off without doing any other harm. More Spaniards coming out on this alarm, the Indians were pursued on the track for two leagues by twenty horsemen, when they were found among some tall reeds eating, drinking, and making merry with their women, and bidding Grajal eat, as they told him they would use him better than Ortiz. On hearing the trampling of the horses all the men fled, leaving the women and children with Grajal, whom they had stripped naked. The Spaniards returned well pleased with Grajal and the women and children, all of whom Soto set free along with some men who had been made prisoners formerly, on purpose if possible to conciliate the cacique and his subjects.

After remaining three weeks in that place, Soto sent a detachment of sixty horse and an equal number of foot under

Gallegos to explore the country beyond the districts belonging to Harrihiagua and Mucozo, which belonged to a cacique named *Urribarracuxi*. On asking guides from Mucozo for this expedition, he refused it saying that it would be treacherous to furnish guides for doing injury to his friend and brother-in-law. The Spaniards answered that they meant no injury, and he might send his friend notice of their intended visit, as they were resolved at all events to go. In that part of the country they found many wild vines, walnut-trees, mulberry, plum, oak, pine, and other trees resembling those which grow in Spain, and the open fields appeared pleasant and fertile. But they found Urribarracuxi's town, which was at the distance of seventeen leagues, entirely abandoned, and could by no means prevail upon him to come out of the woods or to contract any friendship with them, though he likewise entirely refrained from doing them any harm. Gallegos sent back word to inform Soto of the nature of the country he had explored, and that there were plenty of provisions in the town to which he had penetrated. Being anxious to take Harrihiagua prisoner, his lieutenant Vasco Porcallo went out with a party on that service, though Soto advised him to send some other person. When Harrihiagua learnt the object of this expedition, he sent word to Porcallo that his labour would be all in vain, as the roads were so bad he would never be able to reach the place in which he dwelt. Porcallo however persisted, and coming to a deep morass which his men refused to enter, he spurred on his horse to set a good example; but his horse soon floundered in the morass and Porcallo fell off and was nearly stifled. Considering that he was well up in years and had a good estate, Porcallo considered this as a warning to him to desist from such dangerous and fatiguing enterprises, for which reason he asked leave to return to Cuba, and distributed his horses, arms, and provisions among the troops, leaving his son Gomez Xuarez de Figuero well equipped behind him to continue the enterprise, which was better fitted for younger men, and in which Gomez acquitted himself like a man of honour.

On receiving intelligence from Gallegos of the pleasantness of the interior country, Soto determined to advance with the bulk of his men, leaving Calderon to command at the town belonging to Harrihiagua with forty horsemen, to secure the ships, provisions, and stores. On this occasion he gave strict orders to Calderon, to give no offence to the Indians, but

rather

rather to wink at any injuries they might offer. Soto did not think proper to halt in the town of Mucozo, lest he might be burdensome to him and his people with so great a force, though that friendly cacique offered to entertain him. But he recommended to Mucozo to be kind to the Spaniards who had been left at the Bay of the Holy Ghost. Soto marched N. N. E. to the town of Urribarracuxi, but neglected to make proper marks in the country through which he travelled, which was a great fault, and occasioned much trouble in the sequel. On coming to the town of Urribarracuxi, he used every possible endeavour to prevail upon that cacique to enter into friendship, but quite ineffectually. Endeavouring to penetrate farther into the country in search of that cacique, they came to a morass which was three leagues over, and the road through which was so difficult as to take two days of hard labour; and next day the advanced party or scouts returned saying that it was quite impossible to proceed farther in that direction, on account of a number of rivers which took their rise in the great morass and intersected the country in every direction. Three days were ineffectually spent in searching for some way to pass onwards, Soto being always among the foremost to go out upon discovery. During this period the Indians made several excursions from the woods and morasses to assail the Spaniards with their arrows, but were generally repelled without doing any harm, and some of them made prisoners, who, to regain their liberty, pretended to shew the passes to the Spaniards, and led them to such places as were not fit for the purpose. On their knavery being discovered, some of them were torn in pieces by the dogs, which so intimidated the rest, that at length one of them undertook to guide them, and very easily brought them into the open country.

Soto and his men came soon afterwards to another morass, which had two large trees and some branches laid across its narrowest part to serve as a bridge. Soto sent two of his soldiers who were good swimmers to repair the bridge, but they were set upon by many Indians in canoes from whom they difficultly escaped after being severely wounded. But as the Indians no more appeared at this pass, the bridge was soon repaired, and the army passed over into the province or district of another cacique named *Acuera;* who, upon receiving an offer of peace, sent back for answer that he would rather have war than peace with vagabonds. Soto continued twenty

days in this country, during which time the Indians killed fourteen Spaniards who had straggled from the main body, whose heads they carried to their cacique. The Spaniards buried the bodies of their companions wherever they found them; but the Indians dug them up again and hung their quarters upon trees. In the same time the Spaniards only killed fifty Indians, as they were always on their guard and kept among the woods and swamps. Leaving the town of Acuera, to which they did no harm, Soto continued his march inland for *Ocali*, keeping a direction a little to the east of north, through a fertile country free from morasses. At the end of about twenty leagues they came to Ocali, a town of about six hundred houses, abounding in Indian corn, pulse, acorns, dried plums, and nuts. The cacique and all his people had withdrawn into the woods, and at the first message desiring them to come out sent a civil evasive answer, but complied at the second summons with some apprehension.

Going some days afterwards accompanied by this cacique to examine a river over which it was intended to lay a bridge, there appeared about five hundred Indians on the other side, who shot their arrows towards the Spaniards, continually crying out "go away with you, vagabond robbers!" Soto asked the cacique why he permitted his subjects to behave in this manner; to which he made answer that many of them had thrown off their obedience because he had entered into friendship with the Spaniards. Soto therefore gave him permission to rejoin his subjects, on promising to return, but which he never did. The proposed bridge over this river was constructed of two cables stretched across, having planks laid between them, of which they procured abundance fit for the purpose in the woods. By this means the whole force marched across with the utmost ease and satisfaction, the Spaniards on this occasion becoming engineers and pioneers to build bridges and construct roads, after the manner of the ancient Romans. As the guides had fled, the Spaniards made prisoners of thirty other Indians to shew them the roads, whom they treated well and presented with baubles so much to their satisfaction, that they conducted the army for sixteen leagues through a fine open country to the district of *Vitacucho* which was about fifty leagues in circumference and was then divided among three brothers.

On coming to a town called *Ochilé* about break of day, the Spaniards surrounded it before the natives were aware; but on

on hearing the drums and trumpets they ran out, and finding all the avenues blockaded they stood on their defence though the cacique was invited to enter into friendship. He continued for some time to resist; but as his people perceived that the Spaniards released the prisoners without doing them any harm, they represented this to their chief, on which, making a virtue of necessity, he submitted to Soto and was well treated. After this, he accompanied Soto, with many of his people, and conducted the Spaniards into a spacious and delightful vale in which there were many scattered habitations. The cacique sent likewise to acquaint his brothers that the Spaniards were marching through to other countries, only requiring to be supplied with provisions on their way, and did no harm to those who accepted their friendship. One of the brothers returned a favourable answer, and treated the Spaniards with great respect; but the eldest and most powerful of the three, would not allow the messengers to return, and sent afterwards a reproof to his brothers, who he said had acted like foolish boys, and might tell the strangers that, if they ventured into his country, he would roast one half of them and boil the other. But as Soto sent another kind message to him, he consented to visit Soto accompanied by five hundred warriors gaily adorned after their fashion, and was received with much civility and presented with such ornamental trinkets as pleased him much. He was greatly astonished at the appearance of the Spanish troops, and asked pardon for his rude and threatening expressions, promising to make amends by his future good conduct. This cacique, named *Vitacucho*, was about thirty-five years of age, strong limbed, and of a fierce aspect. Next day the Spanish army entered Vitacucho's town in martial order. It consisted of about two hundred houses or cabins, besides a great many others scattered all over the country. All the towns in this country have no other names except those of the caciques to which they respectively belong. After remaining two days in this town making merry, the two younger caciques asked permission of Soto to return to their own districts, which was granted, and having received some presents from Soto, they went away well pleased.

Vitacucho continued slily for some time to behave respectfully to Soto and the Spaniards, yet contriving how best to destroy them. For this purpose he concerted with all his neighbours, whom he persuaded that it was proper and neces-

sary

sary to destroy these wicked vagabonds who had come into their country to reduce them to servitude. He imparted his design to four Indians who attended Soto in quality of interpreters, whom he informed that he had ten thousand well armed Indians in readiness to aid him in the execution of this enterprise, and that he proposed to roast some of the Spaniards, to boil others, to hang up another part on the loftiest trees, and to poison all the rest in such a manner as to pine and rot away for a long time before they died. Being desired to keep the secret and to give their opinion of this design, they answered that they approved it highly, as an exploit worthy of his wisdom and valour, and that nothing could be better contrived. Vitacucho thus encouraged, determined to persevere, and sent notice to his confederates to hold themselves in readiness; but the four Indians, satisfied of the impracticability of the design, owing to the excellent discipline and vigilance of the Spaniards, made a discovery of the whole plot to Juan Ortiz, who communicated it without delay to Soto. In a council of the officers held to consult how to act in this emergency, it was thought best to take no immediate notice of the matter, except standing vigilantly on their guard as if ignorant of the treacherous intention of the cacique, but to contrive to make him fall into his own snare.

When the day concerted between Vitacucho and his confederates for putting their enterprise into execution was come, the crafty cacique requested Soto to go with him out of the town to see his subjects whom he had drawn up in martial array for his inspection, that he might be acquainted with his power, and with the manner of fighting practised among the Indians. Soto was a prudent man well versed in the art of war, in which he had gradually risen by his merit. On this occasion he courteously accepted the proposal of the cacique, saying that it was likewise customary among the Spaniards to shew honour to their friends by displaying their troops in order of battle. The Spanish forces accordingly marched out in good order, prepared for whatever might occur; and the better to conceal his suspicions, and the purpose he had now in view, he walked out of the town on foot along with the cacique. The Indian warriors, to the number of about ten thousand men, were found drawn up in good order at some distance from the town, having their left wing protected by a wood and their right by two lakes. They were well equipped after their manner, their heads adorned with high plumes of

feathers of herons, swans, and cranes. Their bows lay beside them on the ground, and their arrows were covered over with grass, to make it appear that they were unarmed. Besides the main body in the position before mentioned, they had a wing on each flank advanced into the plain.

Soto and the cacique advanced into the plain towards the Indian army, each attended by twelve chosen men. The Spanish troops moved forwards in order of battle on the right of Soto, the cavalry being in the middle of the plain, while the infantry moved close to the wood on the left of the Indians. When Soto and Vitacucho were arrived at the place where it was previously known that the cacique intended to have given a signal for attacking the Spaniards, who were now all in readiness and fully instructed how to act, Soto gave notice to his army to commence the attack by ordering a musket to be fired off. The twelve Spaniards who attended Soto immediately seized the cacique according to the instructions they had received for that purpose; and Soto mounting his horse led on the Spanish cavalry to the charge, being always foremost on every occasion, whether for fighting or hard labour. The Indians took up their arms and resisted the Spaniards as well as they could by repeated flights of arrows, even killing the horse on which Soto rode, as they chiefly aimed at the horses of which they stood in much fear. Soto soon got another horse from his page, and as the cavalry now penetrated the main body of the Indians their whole army took to flight, some seeking for safety in the wood and others by throwing themselves into the lakes. All who fled along the open plain were either killed or made prisoners. About nine hundred of the Indians took shelter in the smaller lake, which was immediately surrounded to prevent their escape, and the Spaniards likewise kept up an incessant attack upon them with their fire-arms and cross-bows, to induce them to surrender. Although in the water, the Indians continued to shoot as long as their arrows lasted, many of them standing on the backs of their comrades, who were swimming, till their arrows were spent, and then giving similar aid to others. They continued in this manner from about ten in the morning till midnight, always surrounded by the Spaniards, refusing to surrender though assured of their lives. At length many of the feeblest surrendered, after being fourteen hours in the water. As the rest observed that no injury was offered to the prisoners, they mostly surren-

dered next day at noon, when they had been above twenty-four hours in the water; and it was observed that they came out excessively tired, hungry, sleepy, and swollen. Seven still obstinately remained in the water till about seven in the evening; when Soto, thinking it a pity such resolute men should perish, ordered twelve Spaniards to swim to them, with their swords in their mouths, who dragged them all out half-drowned. Care was taken to recover them; and when asked the reason of their obstinacy, they alleged that as commanders, they were willing to convince their lord that they were worthy of their rank, by dying in his service and leaving a good name behind them, even expressing a desire that they had been permitted to perish. Four of these men were about thirty-five years of age. The other three were lads about eighteen, the sons of chiefs, who had obeyed the summons of Vitacucho, in hopes of acquiring honour, and were unwilling to return home vanquished. Soto presented some small mirrors and other baubles to these youths and dismissed them; but he told the four commanders, in presence of Vitacucho, that they all deserved to be put to death for having broken their plighted faith, yet he forgave them in hopes that they would take warning by what had now befallen them, and behave better for the future. He then invited Vitacucho to dine at his own table every day, being of opinion that more was to be gained among these barbarians by kind usage than severity, unless when indispensably necessary.

The prisoners taken on this occasion amounted to above a thousand men, who were distributed as servants among the Spanish troops. Vitacucho gave these men secret orders to fall upon and destroy the Spaniards while at dinner, and appointed the seventh day after the engagement for the execution of this new plot. On that day, while Vitacucho as usual was at dinner along with Soto and the principal Spanish officers, he started up on a sudden and gave a loud *whoop* or war cry, which was the appointed signal of attack, and laying hold of Soto gave him so violent a blow with his fist as knocked him to the ground, and immediately fell upon him endeavouring to kill him; but the other officers who were at dinner killed Vitacucho immediately. On hearing the signal from the cacique, all the other Indians attacked their masters, some with fire-brands, others with the cooking kettles, pitchers, or whatever they could get hold of, of which the fire-brands

did

did most harm; but as the Spaniards immediately seized their arms in their defence, all the Indians were slain.

Four days after this fray, the troops marched to another town called *Osachile* after the name of its cacique. Coming to a river which could not be forded, it was proposed to construct a bridge similar to that employed on a former occasion; but on account of opposition from a body of Indians on the farther bank it was necessary in the first place to drive these away. For this purpose an hundred men armed with muskets and cross-bows were ferried over on six rafts, and thirty horsemen got over by swimming their horses. The Indians then fled, and the bridge was constructed in the same manner as formerly described, over which all the rest of the army passed. About two leagues after crossing the river, the army came to some corn-fields with scattered houses, and were galled for some time by the Indians, who lurked among the standing maize, whence they discharged their arrows at the Spaniards: But they were soon put to flight and several of them speared by the cavalry. On arriving at Osachile they found the town abandoned, and the cacique of that place could never be persuaded to make his appearance. Some Indians were made prisoners on this march, who were more tractable than any they had hitherto met with, and undertook to act as guides. It was now necessary for the Spaniards to consider of a proper place in which to pass the winter, and as there had been much talk about the province or district of Apalache, as producing gold, the army only halted two days at Osachile, and recommenced their march in the direction of Apalache. After marching twelve leagues through a desert wilderness, they came to a swamp half a league over, where the pass was defended by a considerable number of Indians. An engagement ensued in which several were killed on both sides, and the Spaniards were foiled for that day. But on the next, after a bloody encounter, the Spaniards drove the Indians from the swamp and got possession of the pass, all of which was fordable except about forty paces in the middle, over which there was a bridge of trees made fast together.

Having crossed the swamp, a very thick wood was found on the other side, above a league and half through, which the army had great difficulty to penetrate, neither indeed was it able to pass through the wood in one day. During this difficult march, an hundred horsemen armed with targets led the

the van, and were followed by an hundred musqueteers and cross-bow-men, all of whom carried axes to hew down trees and make a clear space for the army to encamp, which it did in the middle of the forest, and was all night long disturbed by the incessant war-hoops of surrounding Indians. Next day they continued their march through the wood, which now became more open, but they were constantly harassed by the Indians, more especially as the cavalry could be of very little service among the trees, and wherever there were any open spaces, the Indians had cut down trees to obstruct the passage. After getting out of this forest into the open country, they marched two leagues farther, killing or making prisoners of all the Indians who attempted to make any opposition; so that the natives became at length convinced that they were unable to destroy the Spaniards or to expel them from the country. The army now encamped at the commencement of the cultivated lands belonging to the *Apalaches*, but the Indians still continued to annoy them, by continually pouring flights of arrows into the camp.

Next day the army marched two leagues through a perpetual succession of fields of Indian corn, interspersed with straggling houses, and were frequently vexed by lurking Indians who shot off their arrows and then ran away. At the farther side of this cultivated plain, they came to a deep brook running through a wood, the ford of which was fortified by palisades or fallen trees, to prevent the passage of the cavalry: But a hundred of them alighted from their horses, and cleared the way with their swords and targets in spite of the Indians, who fought with much obstinacy, and did not give way till many of them were slain, but some of the Spaniards were killed in this engagement. They marched four leagues next day with little opposition: and the day following were informed *Capasi*, cacique of Apalache, had taken post at the distance of two leagues with a large body of brave Indians intending to give them battle. The horse immediately advanced to attack him, and took some of his men, but Capasi made his escape. The town of Apalache, of which they now took possession, consisted of two hundred and fifty houses, having several other small dependent towns or villages, and many detached cabins or farm-houses scattered over the cultivated fields. The country was fertile and agreeable, the climate excellent, and the natives numerous and warlike. After some days rest, parties were sent out in different directions

tions to explore the country. Those who penetrated northwards into the interior, reported that the country was excellent, fertile, populous, and free from woods and swamps; while those who went south towards the coast, found a rugged, barren, and impracticable country, being the same through which Cabeza de Vaca had travelled.

It being now the month of October, Soto determined to winter in this place; for which purpose he ordered sufficient fortifications to be constructed for defence, and provisions to be stored up for the supply of his army. He likewise sent back a party by the same way which the army had marched, being an hundred and fifty leagues to the bay of the Holy Ghost[4], to bring away the cavalry that had been left there to rejoin the rest of the army. He also sent a message to Capasi, the only cacique who had been hitherto met with having a proper name different from that of his town, requesting him to come in and make peace with the Spaniards, to which he would by no means consent. Being informed that Capasi had intrenched himself in the middle of a wood about eight leagues from Apalache, Soto marched against him and assailed his fortified post. The Indians defended themselves for some time with great bravery; but at length begged quarter which was granted, and Capasi was brought out on mens shoulders; as he was either so fat and unwieldy, or so much disabled by some distemper, that he was unable to walk, and was therefore carried on a kind of litter or bier, or crawled on his hands and knees. Soto returned well pleased at this good fortune to his quarters at Apalache, expecting that the Indians would give him no more disturbance, now that their chief was in his hands. But matters turned out quite otherwise; for having no ruler the Indians became even more disorderly and troublesome than before, and refused to obey the command of Capasi to remain in peace with the Spaniards.

Under these circumstances, when Soto complained to the cacique of the perpetual hostilities of his people, Capasi pretended, if he were permitted to go to a place about six leagues from

4 Although in the text the general direction of the march of Soto is mentioned as to the N. E. there is every reason to believe it must have been to the west of north, into the country of what are now called the *Creek* Indians. The town of Apalache in which Soto spent the winter 1539-40 may have been on the river Catahoche otherwise called of Apalachicola, or on the Alibama, which runs into the Mobille. There still is a place known by the name of Apalache near the mouth of the Mobille river.—E.

from Apalache, to which the head men of the tribe had retired, that they would obey his orders on seeing him among them and agree to peace. Soto accordingly gave his permission, and Capasi went to the place indicated, carried as usual on a bier, and accompanied by a strong guard of Spaniards. The cacique then issued orders for all his people to appear before him next day, having some important matters to communicate. The Spaniards posted their guards for the night and went to rest, believing every thing secure; but when day appeared next morning neither the cacique nor any of his attendants were to be found. Taking advantage of the centinels falling asleep, Capasi had crept out from among them on all fours, after which his Indians carried him off to some more secure place than the former, as he was never more seen. The Spanish escort returned much ashamed of themselves to Soto, pretending that Capasi and his attendants must have been carried off through the air, as it was impossible for him to have got away from among them in any other manner. Soto prudently accepted of this excuse, saying with a smile that the story was very probable as the Indians were notable sorcerers. He was unwilling to punish his men for their negligence, being always more desirous to gain the affection of his soldiers by kind usage, as far as consistent with military discipline, that they might be ready to endure the fatigue and danger he expected to encounter in the prosecution of his enterprise.

SECTION V.

Continuation of the Transactions of Ferdinand de Soto in Florida[1].

WE have already mentioned that Soto, having determined to spend the winter 1539 at Apalache, sent a detachment back to Harrihiagua on the bay of the Holy Ghost, to bring away Captain Calderon and the men who had been left there. This detachment consisted of thirty horse under the command of Juan de Anasco. On coming to the ford of the river Ocali, Anasco was obliged to pass it by means of rafts, as the river was flooded; and though they used the utmost diligence, the Indians

1 Herrera, V. 307.—341.

Indians were up in arms on both sides of the river to oppose him, so that the Spaniards had to fight both to the front and rear while their baggage, horses, and selves were wafted over. Having got safely over, they found it necessary to go to the town, as one of their comrades was quite benumbed in passing the river. Believing the Spaniards more numerous than they really were, the Indians only defended their town till their wives and children were got away to a place of safety, and then abandoned the place, of which Anasco took possession. The Spaniards made four large fires in the market-place, on purpose to restore their benumbed comrade, to whom likewise they gave the only clean shirt they had among them. They likewise dried their clothes and saddles, which had been all wetted in passing the river, and furnished their wallets with provisions from the stores of the Indians. In the mean time, ten horses at once were allowed to feed, while all the rest stood ready bridled in case of attack. About midnight an alarm was given by the centinels of the approach of a numerous body of Indians; on which the whole party mounted, tying the benumbed man who was now somewhat recovered, fast upon his horse which was led by another soldier, and set off on their march with so much expedition that they were five leagues from the town by day-break next morning. In this manner they continued their journey with as little delay as possible, going on at a round trot wherever they found the country inhabited, and walking their horses in passing through the wilderness.

On the seventh day after leaving Apalache, Pedro de Atienza was taken very ill, and died a few hours afterwards. Having travelled that day near twenty leagues they arrived at the great swamp [2] in the evening, and remained all night on its border, making great fires to keep them warm as the weather was extremely cold. Next morning, on attempting to pass, the horses refused on account of the excessive cold; but about noon the sun yielding some heat, they got across; On the third day after, while continuing their march with the usual diligence, they observed the track of horses, and some appearance of their having used a pool of water by the way side. Their horses even took heart at these appearances, smelling

2 A great swamp is laid down in lat. 31° N. on the frontiers between Georgia and East Florida, at the head of the rivers of St Mary and St Mark, the former of which flows east to the Atlantic, and the latter south-west into the Bay of Apalache.—E.

smelling the track of others, and Anasco and his men were much rejoiced, having been previously afraid that Calderon and his troops had either gone away to Cuba, or had been slain by the Indians. About sunset of this day, being the tenth after leaving Apalache, they came in sight of Harrihiagua, just as the horse patrole was leaving the town. The new comers set up a loud shout for joy at seeing their friends, and Calderon came immediately out to welcome them with equal satisfaction.

When the cacique Mucozo learnt the arrival of Anasco, he went to visit him, and brought the horse belonging to the man who had died by the way, which had been left in a meadow with the saddle hanging to a tree, which likewise was brought in by an Indian on his back, not knowing how to fasten the girths. Mucozo inquired after the health of Soto in a friendly manner, and expressed his sorrow that the other caciques were not of the same friendly disposition with himself. Calderon and Anasco consulted together as to the best way of going back to Apalache. As the stores of provisions shoes and clothes which had been provided liberally by Soto for the expedition were very large and could not be removed to Apalache, it was agreed to leave all these under the charge of Mucozo. It was likewise resolved that Anasco should proceed by sea with two of the brigantines to the Bay of Aute, which he had discovered when detached by Soto to explore the country to the south of Apalache, while Calderon was to go by land. Accordingly, every thing being in readiness, seven days after the arrival of Anasco, Calderon set out by land for Apalache with seventy horse and fifty foot soldiers, all the rest going by sea along with Anasco.

On the second day of his march, Calderon came to the town of Mucozo, and was hospitably entertained by that friendly chief. Nothing remarkable happened during this march till they came to the great swamp, except that one horse was killed by an arrow which penetrated through his breast to his bowels. These Indians are such powerful archers that they have been known to shoot through four folds of mail; for which reason the Spaniards laid aside their European armour, and used a kind which is stuffed with cotton, called *escaupiles*, to defend both themselves and their horses. Calderon travelled with very little opposition or difficulty all the way to the swamp of Apalache, where the Indians attacked him desperately and killed one of his horses. Next day he

was again attacked, and disturbed all the ensuing night, the Indians constantly upbraiding the Spaniards as vagabonds and robbers, and threatening to quarter them. On the following day Calderon and his men reached Apalache, where ten or twelve of his people died of their wounds. Anasco arrived safe with the remainder of the Spaniards at the Bay of Aute[3], whence he marched by land to Apalache. Having now collected his whole force at Apalache, Ferdinand de Soto sent Diego Maldonado with the brigantines to explore the coast to the westwards, ordering him to return in two months with a particular description of all the ports, creeks, and headlands he might fall in with. Maldonado executed these orders; and on his return reported that he had discovered a very excellent harbour, called *Achusi*, sixty leagues to the westwards of Aute[4], whence he brought two Indian prisoners. Soto then sent Maldonado with the brigantines to the Havannah, carrying letters to his lady, and directed him to inform the colonists of Cuba that he had found an excellent harbour in Florida, and that the country was pleasant and fertile, by way of encouraging settlers to come over.

It happened one day that seven Spanish horsemen riding out from the town of Apalache saw an Indian man and woman gathering old kidney-beans in the fields. Immediately on seeing the horsemen the man took up the woman in his arms and carried her into the wood, whence he returned with his bow and arrows to attack the horsemen, who would have saved his life on account of his bravery, calling out to him to yield; but he was so desperate that he wounded them all, and when his arrows were expended he gave one of them so violent a blow with his bow on the head-piece that it stunned him, on which provocation he killed the Indian with his lance. While Soto wintered in Apalache, he used every exertion to obtain intelligence respecting the country towards the west, in order to prepare for extending his discoveries in the spring; and among the Indians who were brought to him on this occasion, was one about seventeen years of age who had been a servant to some Indian travelling merchants. From

3 No bay is now known of this name, but it may possibly have been that now known by the name of Mobille.—E.

4 This distance from Mobille Bay would lead us considerably to the west of the Missisippi, perhaps to Ascension Bay, or perhaps to the entrance of Ouachas Lake.—E.

From this youth he was informed that, about thirteen or fourteen days journey farther on, there was a province called *Cofachiqui*[5], which produced gold, silver and pearls. This intelligence was very pleasing to the Spaniards, and made them wish anxiously for the season in which to march forwards. During all the winter, which the Spaniards spent in Apalache, when any parties of them went out into the country, the Indians seldom failed to kill some of the men or horses with their arrows, yet always kept at a distance or among the woods, carefully avoiding to encounter them in the open fields.

The season being at length come, in the spring of 1540, for taking the field, Soto set out on his march from Apalache towards the north, and on the third day encamped in a peninsula formed by a swamp, having wooden bridges of communication with the dry land. This being an elevated situation, several towns could be seen from the encampment, which was still in the district belonging to Apalache. The Spaniards rested here two days, during one of which seven men strolled out from the camp without orders, six of whom were slain by the Indians before they had got two hundred paces from the camp, and the seventh difficultly escaped with two wounds. Leaving the province of Apalache, the Spaniards now entered that called *Atalpaha*, the first town they came to being abandoned by the natives. Six of the principal people remained behind, who were brought before Soto, whom they boldly asked whether he was for peace or war with their nation. Soto answered by means of his interpreter that he had no inclination for war, as his only intention was to pass through their country, yet desired that his people might be supplied with provisions. To this they answered, if such were his intentions there was no occasion to have made them prisoners, and if he conducted himself in a friendly manner he might depend on better treatment than he had received at Apalache. They accordingly dispatched some of the common people to desire the natives to return to their houses to serve the Spaniards, whom they conducted to a better town, where the cacique came to ratify a peace, which was punctually observed during three days that Soto remained there.

From that place they advanced for ten days to the northwards along the banks of a river, through a fertile country, in

5 Perhaps the country of the Chicasaws.—E.

in which all the inhabitants behaved in a friendly manner. After this they entered the province of *Achalaqui*, which was poor, barren, and thinly inhabited, having very few young men, and the old people being mostly short-sighted and many of them quite blind. Quickening the march through this bad country they came to the province of *Cofachi*, where, besides other presents, Soto gave the cacique some boars and sows for a breed, having brought above three hundred of these animals with him to Florida, where they increased very fast, as the Spaniards had no occasion to kill them, getting abundance of other provisions. During this expedition, Soto made it an invariable practice, before entering any province, to send a message to the cacique offering peace and demanding leave to pass through his dominions, that the natives might not be alarmed at the appearance of so many armed strangers; and besides it was always his wish to employ fair means in his intercourse with the Indians, rather than force. He accordingly sent a message to the cacique of *Cofa* with the usual requests of peace, provisions and a free passage, with which the cacique complied, coming himself to meet the Spaniards, for whom he appointed quarters and plenty of provisions. The land being plentiful, Soto and his army rested here five days. The next province belonged to a brother of Cofa, named Cofaqui, who came out to meet the Spaniards attended by a great number of his people, all finely adorned with plumes of feathers, and wearing mantles of rich sables and other valuable furs. After this friendly reception, the cacique went away to another town, leaving his own entirely for the accommodation of the Spaniards. This country abounded in maize or Indian corn, which is used by the Indians as wheat is in Europe. They had also abundance of dried fruits; but flesh was rare, being only what they procured by hunting, as they had no domesticated animals.

Next day, Cofaqui returned to Soto, offering a supply of provisions and a strong escort of armed Indians, to enable the Spaniards to cross a desert or wilderness of seven days journey leading to the next province of Cofachiqui[6]. Immediately there appeared four thousand Indians to carry burdens, and the like number armed, to accompany the Spaniards.

6. The word *Cofa* seems to have signified lord or chief among these Indians; as we have four successive chiefs in the text, named Cofa, Co-fachi, Cofa-qui, and Cofa-chiqui.—E.

niards. On seeing so great a number of men, Soto was on his guard like a good soldier and prudent commander, that he might not be taken by surprise. On this occasion the cacique made a speech to the commander of his forces, enjoining him, as he knew the ancient enmity subsisting between him and the people of Cofachiqui, that he should not let slip the present favourable opportunity of taking severe revenge upon their enemies, considering that he was now supported by these valiant strangers. The Indian commander, throwing off his mantle of furs, flourished a two-handed sword or war-club, the ensign of his command, and told his lord in pompous terms what he would do for his service. On this, the cacique took from his own shoulders a rich mantle of sables, thought by the Spaniards to be worth a thousand ducats, which he put upon the shoulders of his general, and placed a splendid plume of feathers on his head. The presentation of a mantle and plume of feathers is considered among the Indians as the highest honour which can be bestowed.

There were two Indians among the Spaniards who were extremely familiar, named ordinarily Mark and Peter though not baptized. On the night before commencing the new march for Cofachiqui, Peter made a violent outcry as if in danger of being slain. All the forces turned out under arms on this alarm, and found Peter in great trepidation and distress. He alleged that the devil and a number of his imps had threatened to kill him if he acted as a guide to the Spaniards, and had dragged him about and beaten him so unmercifully that he had assuredly been killed if they had not come to his assistance; and, since the great devil fled from two Christians, he begged to be baptized that he might be a Christian like them and able to drive away the devil. This appeared to be no fiction, by the bruises and swelling which Peter exhibited; and accordingly Soto gave him in charge to the priests, who remained with him all night and baptized him; and next day he was mounted on horseback, being unable to walk on account of the drubbing he had got from the Devil!

The two armies marched apart, pursuant to the wise precautions adopted by Soto. The Indians kept excellent order, having a regular van and rear guard, and making those who carried the provisions and baggage keep in the centre. Every night the two armies lay at some distance, each appointing their own guards. On the third day of the march from Cofaqui they entered upon the wilderness, through which they

 marched

marched for six days, finding the country very agreeable. They had two rapid rivers to cross, at both of which the cavalry was made to form a kind of wall above the ford to break the force of the stream, by which means they all got safe over. On the seventh day both Spaniards and Indians were much at a loss, as the road they had hitherto followed was now at an end, so that they knew not which way to take through the rest of the wilderness. Soto asked the Indian general how it could possibly happen that among eight thousand men of his nation, more especially as they had always been at war with the people to whose country they were going, no one should know the road. The Indian chief answered that none of them had ever been there; for the war was never carried on by means of complete armies, as they merely killed or made prisoners of each other, when they chanced to meet at the fisheries on the rivers, or while hunting; and as the people of Cofachiqui were most powerful, his countrymen did not venture so far into the wilderness, by which reason they were unacquainted with the country. He farther assured Soto that he might rely on the probity and good faith both of the cacique and himself, who had no intention of fraud or perfidy; yet he might if he pleased take what hostages he thought proper for his security, and if that were not sufficient, he would submit to lose his own head, and that all his men should be put to death, wherever they were found to harbour any evil intentions.

Satisfied with these assurances, Soto sent for Peter the Indian, who was likewise at a loss, as he had not been in these parts for five years. They marched on however the rest of that day, without knowing any thing of the road, yet found the woods easily passable. Towards evening they arrived at a great river which could not be forded[7]. This circumstance added greatly to their perplexity, as they now had only seven days provisions, which would not hold out till they could make rafts to pass this river. Next day Soto sent off four several detachments in different directions to explore the country,

7 In the utter impossibility to trace the route of Soto, it may even appear absurd to suppose that this may have been the Tenasse or Hogohegee River, formerly called the Cherokee River; yet he assuredly marched in various directions through the interior country of North America, westwards of the present states of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, to the north of modern West Florida, now occupied by the Creeks, Cherokees, Catawbas, Chactaws, and Chickasaws.—E.

country, with orders to return in five days; and with each of these went a thousand Indians, to assist in finding the way of which they were in search. The Indians who carried the baggage, and who remained at the encampment, went out every morning armed, and returned at night with herbs, roots, birds, some small land animals, and a little fish, part of which they gave to the Spaniards; but this scanty supply was quite insufficient for their necessities. Soto now ordered some of the swine which accompanied the army to be slaughtered, and distributed eight ounces of their flesh daily to every one of his men. Even this was only protracting their misery, yet all shewed wonderful patience, as their commander gave them a good example.

Three of the detachments that had been sent out on discovery returned on the sixth day unsuccessful. But the commander of the fourth, Juan de Anasco, who had gone up the banks of the river, sent back four horsemen to inform Soto that he had found a small town on the same side of the river, which had a good store of provisions, and had seen several towns still higher up, where there was a good deal of cultivated land. The messengers brought with them many ears of *zara*[8], and some cows horns, without knowing whence these were procured, not having hitherto seen any cows in the country. The Indian general *Patofa* and his men, who accompanied Anasco, killed all the inhabitants of that town whom they could lay hands on, taking off their *skulls*[9], and plundering the temple or place of burial, where the best of the effects were secured. This town was in the province of *Cofachiqui*; and as the Indians accompanying the Spaniards did much injury to the country, Soto now sent them home again to prevent any farther harm being done under his auspices; and by making presents to the Indian general and the other chiefs, and supplying them with provisions for their journey, they went away well satisfied. Soto now advanced with the Spaniards through a pleasant and plentiful country, but which was abandoned by the natives on account of the ravages and slaughters that had been committed by Patofa and his people.

Three days afterwards, to avoid going on at random, Soto sent

8 This word, left unexplained by the translator of Herrera, perhaps means some species of millet cultivated by the Indians.—E.

9 This ought in all probability to have been translated *scalps*.—E.

sent on Juan Anasco with thirty horse to explore the country. Anasco set out a little before night, and after proceeding about two leagues, he heard the barking of dogs and the noise of some children, and saw some lights; but on going towards the place for the purpose of trying to seize one or two Indians from whom to gain intelligence, he found that the town was on the other side of the river. He halted therefore at a place which seemed to be used as a landing for canoes; and having fed and rested the horses, he returned to give Soto an account of what he had observed. Soto went accordingly next day with an hundred horse and an equal number of foot to view the town; and as the Indians fled on seeing the Spaniards, the two Christian Indians, Peter and Mark called to them across the river that no harm was intended. Upon this six Indians ventured across the river in a canoe, and came to wait on Soto, who was seated in a chair, which was always carried with him to receive the natives in state, as the customs of these people required. On approaching Soto, the six Indians made their obeisances; first to the sun, then to the moon, and lastly to the Spanish commander, whom they asked whether he was for peace or war with their nation. He answered by means of his interpreter, that he was desirous of peace, and required nothing from them but provisions for his people. They replied that they willingly accepted of peace, but were sorry to say that they were very scarce of provisions in consequence of a pestilence which had lately raged among them; but they would inform their sovereign of his demands, who happened to be a young unmarried woman. When they had delivered their message to the princess, two large canoes covered with awnings were seen to set out from the town on the other side of the river, into one of which seven or eight women embarked, and six men in the other. Among the women was the princess who ruled over the tribe; and immediately on coming to Soto, she sat down on a stool before him, which her people brought for her use, and after some complimentary discourse, she expressed her sorrow for the scarcity which then existed in her country, but that having two storehouses filled with provisions for relieving the necessities of her subjects, she would give him one of these, and hoped he would leave her in possession of the other. She said likewise that she had two thousand measures of maize at another town, which she would give him, and would quit her own house and half the town to accommodate him and his people,

people, and if that did not suffice, that the whole of the town should be cleared for his use. Soto thanked her in a courteous manner for her friendly offers, declaring that he would be perfectly satisfied with whatever she was pleased to give. While he was speaking, she took off a string of pearls which she wore round her neck, and gave it to Juan Ortiz the interpreter to present it in her name to Soto, as she could not deliver it with her own hands without transgressing the rules of decorum [10]. Soto stood up and received it with much respect, and presented her in return with a ruby which he wore on his finger. Thus peace was ratified with this princess, who now returned to the other side of the river, all the Spaniards admiring her beautiful appearance and good behaviour.

After this all the Spanish force was transported across the river, on rafts and in canoes, four horses being drowned in the passage. The Spaniards were all commodiously quartered in the middle of the town, and the country round was found to be extraordinarily fertile. The mother of the princess of this tribe was a widow, and resided about twelve leagues from this town in great retirement; and on being sent for by her daughter to see the strangers, she not only refused, but sent a severe reproof to her daughter for admitting those persons of whom she knew nothing. Soto sent Juan Anasco with thirty horse, with a respectful message to the old lady inviting her to come to visit him. Anasco was accompanied on this occason by an Indian of considerable rank, who seemed pensive and melancholy. After travelling some leagues, they stopped for rest and refreshment, and sat down under the shade of a tree to partake of a repast. Throwing off his mantle of sables, the Indian took the arrows one by one from his quiver, which were very curiously made of reeds, having heads of bones with *three points* [11] all of them feathered on three sides, and both them and his bow beautifully painted with some kind of bituminous substance, as smooth

10 The circumstance of great quantities of pearls being found in this part of the country tends in some measure to confirm the idea of Soto being now on the Tenasse River. In the most recent maps of this part of America, a part of this river near its great bend, where it sweeps round from a S. W. to a N. N. W. direction, is distinguished by the appellation of the *Muscle Shoals*, and it is well known that the fresh-water muscles are often very productive in pearls.—E.

11 Perhaps this ought to have been *triangular* pointed heads.—E.

smooth and glossy as the finest varnish. The last arrow which he drew out was headed with flint, sharp-pointed, and double-edged like a dagger. Seeing that the Spaniards were all intent upon observing the curious arrows, he cut his own throat with the flint-headed arrow, and immediately fell down dead. The other Indians who accompanied Anasco said that in their opinion he had killed himself because he was carrying a message which he believed was disagreeable to the old lady. A short time after this, as Anasco was still proceeding, one of the Spaniards observed that they were going blindly in search of a woman who was said to have gone to hide herself from them in another place; and as Soto already had the daughter in his power, he had no occasion for the mother also, and as their number was small they were exposed to much danger, and had much better return to head-quarters. As this advice was universally approved of, they turned back.

Three days afterwards Soto sent twenty Spaniards up the river in two canoes at the request of the daughter to seek her mother, under the conduct of an Indian who offered to conduct them to her place of concealment. While on this expedition, the Spaniards recollected that Peter and Mark had reported there was both gold and silver in that province; but upon search they found much copper of a golden colour, and great plates of *ore*[12] which was very light and mouldered away like earth, which probably had deceived the young Indians. A wonderful quantity of pearls were found, and the old lady gave them leave to go into a sacred house where the chiefs or nobles of the tribe were buried, to take what pearls were there, and to another temple, or sepulchre rather, near the town, in which the bodies of her own ancestors were reposited, where they found pearls in still greater abundance. In these repositories of the dead they found a number of wooden chests in which the bodies were laid; and beside them in baskets made of reeds there were great quantities of large and seed pearls, as also garments both for men and women, made of skins and fine furs. So great was the abundance of pearls found on this occasion, that the kings officers weighed five hundred pounds weight. As Soto was unwilling to encumber his troops with so much additional weight, he proposed

12 These large plates of *ore*, were probably silver-coloured mica; and the golden-coloured copper in the text may have been bright yellow pyrites. —E.

proposed that no more than fifty pounds should be then taken, to send to the Havannah to learn their value; but as they were already weighed, the officers begged that they might be all carried away, to which he consented, and gave his captains two handfuls of pearls as large as pease to make strings of beads or rosaries.

Leaving Cofachiqui, the army came to another town called *Tolomeco*, in a temple or charnel-house more properly of which place, opposite the residence of the chief, they found strings of large pearls hanging on the walls, and others in chests, with many fine garments like those formerly mentioned; and in rooms over this charnel-house were great numbers of pikes with copper heads resembling gold, and clubs, staves, and axes of the same metal, and bows, arrows, targets, and breast-plates. Soto would not take away any of these, being resolved to continue his march. Accordingly, taking leave of the princess of Cofachiqui, he divided the army into two parts for the better convenience of provisions, retaining the immediate command of one, and confiding the other to the charge of Baltasar de Gallegos. In this order they moved on to the province of Chalaqui; and next day were exposed to such a storm of wind, lightning, and hail, that many of them must have perished, but for the shelter afforded by the trees, as the hail-stones were as large as pigeons eggs. On the sixth day of this new march, they came to the valley of Xaula, a pleasant country to the N. N. E. The sailors who accompanied the army believed the river which flowed past Cofachiqui to be the same which is known on the coast under the name of *Santa Ellena;* and computing their marches at four leagues a-day, it appeared that the forces had come two hundred leagues from Apalache to Xaula[13]; which, with an hundred and fifty leagues from the Bay of the Holy Ghost to Apalache, made four hundred and ten leagues in all[14].

The

13 Two hundred Spanish leagues would amount to near 800 English miles. But as the march was entirely in an uncertain and probably changing direction, this estimate does not assist in determining any thing of its extent. Eight hundred miles would reach, even from Espiritu Santo Bay, to beyond the Ohio.—E.

14 The numbers in the text are obviously corrupt, as the particulars do not agree with the sum; but it is impossible to correct or reconcile them, neither indeed is it of much consequence, as no establishment was made in Florida by Soto, and the names of the places he visited are now unknown and uninteresting. Four hundred and ten Spanish leagues, or 1640 English miles, would carry us into Upper Canada.—E.

The Spanish forces rested a fortnight in the vale of Xaula, which was subject to the princess of Cofachiqui, though a separate province, being induced to this delay by finding abundance of all things, and on purpose to recruit their horses. Leaving this place, they marched one day through an agreeable country, and then five days over an unpeopled mountain[15], though not disagreeable, as it had many fine groves, waters, and pasture-grounds, the way over being about twenty leagues. Four Indian chiefs who accompanied them by order of the princess of Cofachiqui, sent to require the cacique of *Guanale* to receive the Spaniards with kindness, or otherwise to declare war against him. While on the march, a foot-soldier named Juan Terron pulled a little bag from his wallet full of large well-coloured pearls not pierced, which he offered to a horseman, who advised him to keep them as the general meant soon to send to the Havannah, where he might purchase a horse for them to ease him from marching on foot. On this refusal, Terron threw his pearls on the ground, alleging they were troublesome to carry, and they were picked up by his comrades. He sorely repented of this afterwards, as he was informed they would have been worth 6000 ducats in Spain. The Spaniards stopped four days at Guanale, and in five days march from thence they reached *Ychiaha*, a town situated on an island in the river about five leagues in length. As the general always made inquiry every where concerning the country farther on, the cacique of Ychiaha told him there were mines of yellow metal about thirty leagues from thence, and presented him with a long string of large pearls, which would have been of extraordinary value if they had not been bored. As Soto seemed to prize them, the cacique said there were many such in the burial place of his ancestors which he was welcome to take if he pleased. In return Soto presented the cacique with some pieces of velvet and satin, with which he was much gratified. Two soldiers were sent on, accompanied by a party of Indians, to view the reported mines of yellow metal, who reported that they were only copper, that the country was fruitful, and that they had been well treated by the inhabitants. Some of the men likewise were ordered to drag the river for the pearl oysters, where they

15 If correct in the idea of Soto having crossed the Tenassee, the mountainous district here indicated may have been the Cumberland mountains, between the Tenassee and Cumberland Rivers.—E.

they soon brought up large quantities, which were laid on a fire to make them open their shells, and the pearls were taken out somewhat damaged by the heat. A soldier who boiled some of these oysters, while eating one of them, almost broke his teeth on a pearl as big as a hazle-nut, which he presented to Soto for his lady, as it was bright and well shaped; but the general refused it, desiring him to keep it to purchase horses, and in return for his good will paid the kings fifth out of his own money, its value being estimated at 400 ducats. Soto was exceedingly generous and obliging to his soldiers, making no distinction between himself and them, in clothes, eating, lodging, or enduring hardships, and enjoyed their entire confidence and affection.

From Ychiaha, the Spaniards proceeded onwards to Acoste, where the cacique received them with ill-will, and an open breach had like to have taken place; but Soto prevented this by conciliatory management, and still preserved the peace, which had not been infringed since leaving Apalache. Next day the Indians of Acoste became better humoured, and having contented them, Soto crossed the river into the large province of *Coza*, through which he marched for an hundred leagues, finding it every where populous and fertile, and the Spaniards were every where received in a friendly manner, well treated, and commodiously lodged. At the town of Coza, the cacique came out to meet Soto attended by a thousand Indians wearing plumes of feathers and rich mantles of furs. The town consisted of about five hundred houses along the side of the river, and here the Spaniards were most hospitably entertained. While dining one day with Soto, the cacique requested he would spend the winter in his country and establish a colony there; and indeed it was better land than any that the Spaniards had hitherto passed through. Soto thanked him for his friendly offer; but said that it was necessary for him in the first place to explore the country farther on, that he might be able to judge what articles were necessary for trade, and that he might give orders for seeds and all other requisites, after which he would return and accept his offer. He staid twelve days at this place, more to oblige the cacique than on any other account; and then set out towards the sea, which he had long designed, making a semicircular turn that he might march back by a different route to explore the country, meaning to make his way to the port of *Anchusi*.

In

In five days march he reached *Talisse*, a town fortified with entrenchments of timber and earth, on the frontiers of the territories of the cacique of *Tascaluza*, who was in enmity with the cacique of *Coza*, who went so far with the Spaniards on purpose to intimidate Tascaluza. At this place Soto was received by a son of Tascaluza, only eighteen years of age, and so tall that none of the Spaniards reached higher than his breast. This young man offered his fathers compliments of friendship to the Spaniards, and conducted Soto to Tascaluza, who received him sitting after their manner on a kind of chair, with a great number of men standing round him; and though the different commanders came up successively to salute him, no one stirred till Soto came forwards, when the cacique stood up and advanced twenty paces to meet him. Tascaluza was like a giant, much taller than his son, well-shaped, and of a good aspect. The Spaniards were well received, abundantly supplied, and commodiously quartered. They set out again on their march on the third day; and as the cacique Tascaluza chose to accompany them, one of the baggage horses belonging to Soto was selected for him to ride upon. When mounted, his feet reached within a span of the ground. He was not fat, as his waist was hardly a yard in compass, and he did not seem to exceed forty years of age. In the course of this days march, after coming to a fortified town, the Spaniards had to cross the river, which they did with considerable difficulty, being badly supplied with rafts or floats. On taking up their quarters for the night, two Spaniards were amissing; and when the Indians were asked about them, they answered in a haughty manner, *they were not given to our keeping*, so that it was strongly suspected they were murdered. Upon this cause of jealousy, and being likewise privately informed that the cacique had assembled a great number of men at a place called Mavila, under pretence of serving the Spaniards, Soto sent three confidential officers to view that place, which was about a league and a half from quarters. They reported that they had seen no person by the way, but that Mavila was a much better fortified place than any they had hitherto seen in Florida.

As the Spaniards were bound for Mavila, and under circumstances of very considerable suspicion as to the good intentions of Tascaluza and his subjects, they marched with the utmost circumspection. Soto led the van in person, consisting of an hundred horse and an hundred and fifty foot. He

was accompanied by Tascaluza, and as he marched with diligence, he arrived at Mavila at eight in the morning, the main body not coming up for a considerable time after. The town of Mavila was seated in a plain, enclosed by a double row of piles with timbers laid athwart, and the interstices rammed full of straw and earth, so that it looked like a wall smoothed by a masons trowel. At every eighty paces distance, there was a tower or platform where eight men could stand to fight, having many loop holes. It likewise had two gates. Though it only consisted of eighty houses, these were so large that each could have contained a thousand men. In the middle of the town was a large square or market-place, into which when Soto and the cacique were come and had dismounted, Tascaluza, pointed out to the interpreter a house in which the general might take up his quarters and another for his kitchen, saying that huts and barracks were provided for the rest of the Spaniards on the outside of the town. To this Soto made answer, that, when the major-general came up, he would distribute the troops to proper quarters.

Tascaluza now retired into a house where all his chiefs were assembled, on purpose to consult how best to kill all the Spaniards, which he had been long plotting to accomplish. It was proposed in this council to attack them in their present divided state, before the rest of the Spaniards could get forwards to the town; but another opinion prevailed, which was to allow them all to assemble, as the Indian chiefs had a large force concealed in the houses of the town, and thought themselves perfectly able to encounter with the Spaniards. When the meat was dressed at the quarters of Soto, Juan Ortiz the interpreter was sent with a message to Tascaluza desiring his presence; but he was refused admission to deliver his message, and on pressing to get in, an Indian came to the door exclaiming angrily, "What would these unmannerly vagabonds have with my lord? Down with the villains, there is no enduring their insolence!" He immediately bent his bow, and levelled at some Spaniards who were in the street; but Baltasar de Gallegos, who happened to be close by, gave him a cut on the shoulder which cleft him to the middle. An Indian youth now let fly six or seven arrows at Gallegos, which did him no harm as he was in armour, after which the Indian gave him three or four strokes on the helmet with his bow, but Gallegos killed him with two thrusts of his sword. The moment these Indians were slain an alarm was given,

and

and above seven thousand warriors, who had been concealed in the large houses of the town, rushed out into the streets and drove all the Spaniards out of the town.

The Spaniards who managed best on this alarm, ran immediately to mount their horses, which had been left tied on the outside of the town; while others cut the halters or reins thatt he Indians might not shoot them. Others remained tied, and were slain by the Indians. Such of the Spaniards as had been able to mount their horses, with others who now arrived, charged the Indians who were engaged with the infantry, making room for them to draw up in regular order. Having re-established their ranks, a troop of horse and a company of foot made so furious a charge on the Indians that they drove them into the town, and attempted to get in at the gate after them; but they were received by such a volley of arrows and stones as compelled them to retire two hundred paces, yet without turning their backs, in which consisted their safety. As the Indians followed them, they made a fresh charge, and drove the Indians back to the town, yet dared not to venture too near the wall; and the fight continued in this manner for some time, alternately gaining and losing ground, several of the Spaniards being killed and wounded. Finding they had the worst of it in the open field, the Indians kept close behind the walls of the town. On this Soto alighted from his horse, causing others to do the same, and advanced up to the gate at the head of a party armed with targets, under cover of which two hundred men with axes hewed down the gate and rushed in, not without much hazard and some loss. Others of the Spaniards contrived to mount the wall, helping each other, and hastened to succour those who had gained the gate. Seeing the Spaniards had forced their way into the town, which they deemed impregnable, the Indians fought desperately in the streets, and from the roofs of the houses, for which reason these were set on fire by the Spaniards. After entering the town, Soto remounted his horse, and charged a body of Indians in the market-place, killing many with his spear; but, raising himself in the stirrup to make a home thrust, an arrow penetrated through his armour and wounded him in the hip, so that he could not regain his seat: yet, not to discourage his men, he continued to fight during the remainder of the action, though obliged to stand the whole time in the stirrups. Another arrow pierced quite through the spear of Nunno de Tovar, near his hand, but did not break

break the shaft of the lance, which continued to serve after the arrow was cut off.

The fire which had been put to the houses burned fiercely, as the houses were all of wood and covered with thatch, by which great numbers of the Indians perished. About four in the afternoon, being sensible of their own weakness and that they were likely to be worsted, the Indian women began to join in the battle, armed with the spears, swords, and partizans which the Spaniards had lost, some even with bows and arrows, which they managed as dexterously as their husbands, and some armed only with stones exposed themselves courageously in the heat of the action. The foremost of the Spanish main body, which had fallen greatly behind the van little thinking of what was to happen, on hearing the noise of trumpets, drums, and shouts, gave the alarm to the rest, and hastening forwards came up about the close of the engagement. At this time many of the Indians got over the wall into the fields, and endeavoured to make head against the newly arrived Spaniards, but were soon slain. On the arrival of the Spanish main body, about twelve fresh horsemen made a furious charge on a large body of Indian men and women who still continued the battle in the market-place, and soon routed them with great slaughter. This ended the fight about sunset, after it had lasted nine hours, being on St Lukes day in the year 1541 [16].

During the night and next day, Soto ordered the best possible care to be taken of the wounded, some of whom died for want of proper necessaries, no bandages, lint, oil, or medicines being to be had, as all these things had been plundered along with the other baggage at the commencement of the battle by the Indians, and having been carried into the town were all there burnt along with the houses. Forty-eight Spaniards were slain in this battle; thirteen others died shortly of their wounds, and twenty-two some time afterwards, so that the entire loss was eighty-three men, besides forty-five horses, which were much missed, as the cavalry constituted the main strength of the army. It was reckoned that eleven thousand Indians perished, four thousand of whom were found

16 The date of 1541 seems here erroneous, Soto having landed in 1539, and spent only one winter in the country, the transactions in this part of the text ought only to refer to the year 1540.—E.

found dead without the town, and young Tascaluza among them. The dead bodies within the town were computed at three thousand, as the streets were all full of them; and it was believed that upwards of four thousand were consumed by fire in the houses, for above a thousand perished in one house, as the fire began at the door and they were all stifled. When the Spaniards afterwards scoured the country round, many were found to have died of their wounds in various parts, and some of them four leagues from the town. The body of the cacique Tascaluza could not be found, whence it was concluded that he had perished in the flames, a victim to his eager desire to destroy the Spaniards, which he had anxiously premeditated from the first notice he had received of their arrival in the neighbourhood of his territories. It was reported by some women who were made prisoners, that on the Indians of Talisse complaining of having been ordered by their cacique to carry the baggage of the Spaniards, Tascaluza had exhorted them to have a little patience, as he would soon deliver up these strangers to them as slaves. These women said that they were strangers who had accompanied their husbands at the invitation of Tascaluza, who had promised to give them scarlet and silk dresses, and fine jewels to wear at their dances, and to divide the Spaniards and their horses among them. They said likewise that all the women of the surrounding country, married and single, had collected on this occasion; as it had been given out that an extraordinary festival was to be held in honour of the Sun, after the destruction of the Spaniards. Besides the destruction of their baggage on this occasion, the Spaniards lost all the wine, chalices, and holy vestments for celebrating the mass, so that in future they could only have ordinary prayers and sermons, without any consecration or communion, till after their return among Christians.

The Spaniards remained a fortnight at Mavila, making frequent excursions into the country, where they found plenty of provisions. From twenty Indians whom they took prisoners, they were informed that there were no warriors left to oppose them in all the surrounding country, as all the bravest men of the nation and its allies had been slain in the battle. At this time they received the intelligence that Maldonado and Gomez Arias were making discoveries along the coast; and Soto was much inclined to have established a colony at

the

the port of *Achiusi* or *Anchusi*, [17], to carry on trade with another establishment twenty leagues up the country, but this was opposed by some of his officers, who thought the Spanish force too small for subduing so warlike a people, considering the experience they had of their fierceness in the battle of Mavila. They objected likewise that they saw no reason for exposing themselves to such hazards, without hope of reward, as they had found no mines in all the vast extent of country they had travelled over. This opposition was exceedingly perplexing to Soto, as he had expended the whole of his substance on the expedition, and was afraid his men would desert him if he came near the coast, when he was not in a condition to raise new forces. For these reasons he resolved to penetrate into the interior of the country; and, being disgusted at seeing all his projects disappointed, he never succeeded afterwards in any of his undertakings.

When the sick and wounded were so far recovered as to be able to travel, Soto set out from Mavila, and marched through a fine country for three days, after which they entered the province of *Chioza*, where the natives refused to receive him in a peaceable manner. They abandoned their town, and took post to defend the passage of a very deep river in which were many craggy places. At this pass above eight thousand Indians collected, some of whom crossed in canoes to attack and harass the Spaniards: But Soto caused some trenches to be made, in which he concealed several bodies of musqueteers, targeteers, and crossbow-men, who fell upon the rear of the Indians, who forbore to repeat these attempts after having been twice discomfited in this manner. As it was found impossible to cross over in the face of so large a force of Indians in the ordinary manner, two very large piraguas were privately built in the woods, which were got ready in twelve days, and were then drawn out of the wood on rollers by the Spaniards with the assistance of their horses

17 It is quite impossible to conjecture even where this place may have been situated; perhaps it is the same bay or creek formerly called Auche, and may have been that now called Mobille Bay. The Mavila of the text may likewise have been on the river now called Mobille. We know that the *b* and *v* are often interchanged in the Spanish names of places and persons; as for example Baldivia and Valdivia are both applied to the original Spanish conqueror of Chili. In the present instance, Mavila may afterwards have been changed to Mabila, and then by the French to Mobille. All this however is mere conjecture.—E.

horses and mules. These were launched into the river without being perceived by the Indians; and forty musqueteers and crossbow-men were embarked in each with a few horses, and these pushed across the river with the utmost diligence. They were descried however, by five hundred Indians who were scouring the country, who with loud cries gave the alarm to the rest, and all hastened to defend the pass. Most of the Spaniards were wounded while on the water, as the Indians continually shot their arrows against them unopposed. One of the piraguas got straight across to the landing, but the other was forced some way down by the current, and had to be towed up. Two horsemen landed from the first piragua, who drove the Indians above two hundred paces back, and made four several charges before any reinforcement could land; but at length were joined by other four horsemen, and made several desperate charges on the Indians, so as to allow of the infantry getting on shore; but as these were almost all wounded, they were obliged to take shelter in an Indian town hard by. Soto came over in the second trip of the piraguas, accompanied by sixty men; and the Indians, on seeing the Spanish force increase, retired to a fortified town in the neighbourhood, whence they frequently sallied out to skirmish with the Spaniards; but as the cavalry killed many of them with their spears, they evacuated that place during the night.

The Spaniards now broke up their piraguas, keeping the iron work for future service, and advanced farther into the country. In four days they reached a town called *Chicoza* [18], well situated in a fertile country among brooks and surrounded by abundance of fruit trees. Resolving to spend the winter in this place, Soto caused it to be fortified, huts to be built for the accommodation of his troops, and all the provisions that could be procured to be collected. At this place they remained in peace for about two months, the horsemen making frequent excursions into the surrounding country in quest of provisions. Such Indians as happened to be made prisoners on these occasions were immediately set at liberty, receiving various trinkets for themselves and presents for their

18 This word seems to have almost the same sound with Chicasaw, and Soto may on his present return into the interior have crossed the river Yazous, which flows into the Missisippi in lat. 32° 30′ N. a short way above the Natches.—E.

their chiefs, with messages desiring them to repair to the Spanish quarters to enter into terms of peace and amity. The chiefs sent presents of fruit in return, and promised soon to visit the Spanish general. Soon afterwards they began every night to alarm the Spaniards; and one night three considerable bodies of them drew near the town about midnight, and when about an hundred paces from the entrenchments they set up loud shouts and made a prodigious noise with their warlike instruments; after which, with burning wreaths of a certain plant tied round their arrows, they set the town on fire, all the houses being thatched. Undismayed at this calamity, the Spaniards repaired to their alarm posts, and Soto issuing out in his *escaupil* or cotton armour, mounted his horse and went to attack the Indians, being the first to kill one of the assailants with his spear; as upon all occasions of danger he gave a wonderful example of cool and intrepid courage. Some sick Spaniards and several horses were burnt on this occasion; but Captain Andres de Vasconcelos with four horsemen fell with such fury on the enemy that he forced them to retire. Soto, being eager to slay an Indian who particularly distinguished himself in this action, leaned forwards so much that he and the saddle fell off; but being bravely rescued by his men, he mounted again and returned to the fight. At length after two hours hard fighting, the Indians were constrained to fly, and were pursued as far as they could be seen by the light from the burning houses, after which Soto sounded a retreat. In this fatal night, the Spaniards lost forty men and fifty horses, twenty of them being burnt. All the swine likewise perished in the fire, except a few that broke out of an enclosed yard. During this engagement prodigious shots of arrows were made by the Indians, one of which pierced through both shoulder-blades of a horse, and came out four fingers breadth on the opposite side.

Soto now thought proper to remove the army to a town named *Chicacolla*, about a league from that which had been burnt; and, having fortified these new quarters, the Spaniards were obliged to make new saddles, spears, targets and clothes, to supply the places of those which had been burnt. The clothes were made of goats skins [19]. At this place the Spaniards

19 More probably of deer skins found in the Indian towns, as goats certainly were not among the indigenous animals of North America.—E.

Spaniards spent the rest of the winter, during which they suffered extreme hardships for want of clothes, as the weather was excessively cold. Being sensible that they had done much harm to the Spaniards in the late night attack, the Indians returned again to make a similar attempt; but their bow-strings being wetted by violent rain, they withdrew, as was learnt from an Indian prisoner. They returned however every night to alarm the Spaniards, of whom they always wounded some; and though the cavalry scoured the country every day four leagues round, they could meet none of the natives, so that it was wonderful how they should come nightly from so great a distance.

The Spaniards contrived to shift in a very miserable manner at Chicacolla till about the latter end of March 1542[20], when they resumed their march. At the end of about four leagues, the advanced guard returned with a report that they had seen an Indian fort which appeared to be defended by about four thousand warriors. After viewing it, Soto told his soldiers that it was indispensably requisite to dislodge these people, who would otherwise annoy them with night attacks, and that it was likewise necessary to do this that they might preserve the reputation they had already gained in so many provinces of the country. This fort, called *Alibamo*[21], was of a square form, each side being four hundred paces in length, and the gates were so low that the horsemen could not ride in, similar in all respects to what has been already said respecting Mavila.[22] The general therefore gave orders to three companies of infantry to assail the gates, those who were best armed being placed in front. When they were all ready to begin the assault, a thousand Indians sallied out from the town, all adorned with

20 Herrera persists in the error already noticed of advancing his chronology a year, as hitherto between May 1539 he has only accounted for two winters, and ought consequently to have been now only in the spring of 1541.—E.

21 At present Toulouse, built on the scite of an Indian village called Alibama, stands on a river of the same name, which flows into the left or east side of the Mobille River in the back part of Georgia, and seems to have been surrounded by a tribe called the Alibamons. If this be the place indicated in the text, it is quite adverse to the idea of Chicoza being to the north-west of the Yazous.—E.

22 These square forts of logs rammed full of earth may have given rise to the entrenchments which have lately occasioned some speculation in America, as having belonged to a people more advanced in civilization than the present race of savage hunters.—E.

with plumes of feathers, and having their bodies and faces painted of several colours. At the first flight of arrows, five of the Spaniards were shot, three of whom died of their wounds. To prevent the discharge of more arrows, the Spaniards immediately closed and drove the Indians in at the gates, which they entered along with them, making dreadful havock with their swords, as may easily be imagined, the Indians being all naked. To escape from the infantry, the Indians threw themselves from the walls, by which means they fell into the hands of the horsemen, who slew many of them with their spears. Others of the Indians endeavoured to escape by swimming a river behind the fort; but a squadron of horse passed the river, and killed many of them, so that on the whole two thousand Indians were supposed to have been slain in this battle. During this engagement, an Indian challenged Juan de Salinas to single combat, which he accepted, and when his comrade made offer to cover him with his target, he refused, saying that it was a shame for two Spaniards to engage one Indian. Salinas shot his bolt through the breast of the Indian, and in return the Indians arrow went through the neck of the Spaniard.

At this time the Spaniards were reduced to great distress from want of salt, owing to which they were afflicted with lingering fevers, of which several died, and their bodies stunk so violently, that there was no coming near them. As a remedy for this evil, the Indians taught them to make a lye of the ashes of a certain herb, into which they dipped their food by way of sauce. At this time likewise the Spaniards were put to much trouble for interpreters, on account of the great diversity of languages, so that they were obliged to employ thirteen or fourteen others besides Juan Ortiz, among the various tribes they met with in traversing the country; but so acute were the natives, that such of their women as happened to live with the Spaniards were able to understand them in two months. After three days march from Alibamo, the Spaniards came to another town named *Chisca*, on a river to which they gave the name of *El Grande*[23] or the Great River, as it was the largest they had yet seen. Coming upon this place by

23 From what will appear in the sequel, there can scarcely be a doubt that this great river must have been the Missisippi. According to the Governor Pownall's map of North America, Soto fell in with this river in 1541, about the lat. of 34° 30′ N. in the country of the Chicasaws and to the west of the Yazous, near where we have already supposed Chicoza to have been situated.—E.

by surprise, most of the inhabitants were made prisoners; but some of them made their escape to the residence of the cacique, which stood on a high and difficult ascent, to which the only access was by means of stairs. Though old and sick, the cacique was coming down to attack the Spaniards, whom he threatened to put all to death, but he was stopped by his women and servants. As there was no proper access for the horsemen to assail the residence of the cacique, and besides as Soto was always more inclined to carry his purposes by gentle means than by the exertion of force, he very courteously offered to enter into peace and amity with this cacique and his people. In less than three hours, more than four thousand Indians assembled at the residence of the cacique, among whom there was great difference of opinion as to the choice of peace or war with the Spaniards, many of them inclining to war as accordant with the natural ferocity of their dispositions. The opinion however of the wiser prevailed, who deemed it better to make peace, by which they might recover their wives and children, and retrieve their property without bloodshed, and might save their corn, which was then ripe, from being destroyed. Peace was accordingly concluded, on condition that the Spaniards should not insist upon going up to the residence of the cacique; the prisoners were set at liberty, all the plunder of the town restored, and the Spaniards were supplied with provisions.

Having rested sixteen days in Chisca, on purpose to give time for the sick and wounded to recover, during which time they gained the friendship of the cacique, the Spaniards resumed their journey, and went four days along the river in search of some place in which it could be crossed, as the banks were everywhere high and almost perpendicular, and closely wooded. Although above six thousand Indians, with great numbers of canoes, were seen posted on the opposite side of the river, it was deemed necessary to get across in search of provisions, for which purpose two large piraguas were ordered to be built. In the mean time four Indians came to the camp, and having made their adorations to the sun and moon, they addressed Soto in the name of their cacique, bidding him welcome to his territories, and offering his friendship. The general returned a courteous answer, and was well supplied with provisions for his forces during his stay, but could never prevail on the cacique to visit him, who always excused himself under pretence of sickness;

but it was afterwards found that this peace was concluded by the Indians on purpose to save their harvest, which was then ready to be carried home. In fifteen days the two piraguas were finished for crossing the river, although some damage was done by the Indians from the opposite side by means of their canoes; but the Spaniards drove them always away, as they kept a constant guard concealed behind trenches. These piraguas were so large as to contain an hundred and fifty foot and thirty cavalry, all of whom embarked in sight of the Indians, and plied up and down the river with sails and oars; and the Indians were so astonished and intimidated by the sight of such huge floating machines, that they abandoned the opposite bank of the river and dispersed.

After passing the river, the Spaniards came to a town of about four hundred houses, constructed upon some high bluffs or ridges near another river[24], and surrounded by spacious fields of Indian corn, and abundance of fruit-trees of several kinds. The Spaniards were courteously received at this place by order of the cacique, named *Casquin*[25], who resided at a different town higher up the river, and sent to compliment the Spanish commander. After resting six days, they proceeded up the banks of the river, through a plentiful and populous country, till they came to the town where Casquin resided, who received and entertained them with great attention and kindness.

Three days after their arrival, the cacique waited upon Soto, and, after making his obeisance to the sun and moon, he said "he was persuaded the Spaniards worshipped a better God than the Indians, since he had given them victory with so small a number over such multitudes of Indians: Wherefore he requested that Soto would pray to his God to send rain, of which they were in great want." The general answered, that though he and all his men were sinners, they

24 This other river may have been the St Francis, which flows into the west side of the Missisippi a little above where Soto is supposed to have crossed.—E

25 The memory of this name perhaps is still preserved in a small river or creek, called Kaskin-opa, which runs into the east side of the Missisippi about 20 miles below the mouth of the Ohio. The situation indeed is materially different from that in which Soto is supposed to have found the cacique named Casquin in the text; but the roaming tribes of Indians frequently change their places of residence, as influenced by success or misfortune in war and hunting.—E.

would humbly pray to God to shew mercy. Having accordingly ordered a cross to be erected on a hill, he and all the forces, except a guard left to protect the quarters, went in solemn procession to adore the cross, accompanied by the cacique and some Indians, the Christian priests singing the litanies, and all the soldiers joining in the responses. Being come to the cross, many prayers were recited on their knees, after which they returned to their quarters chanting appropriate psalms. Above twenty thousand natives stood gazing at this religious procession, some on the same side of the river, and others on the opposite bank, all of whom occasionally set up loud shouts, as if begging of God to hear them. It pleased God to answer their humble prayers, as towards midnight there fell sufficient rain to satisfy the wants of the Indians, and the Christians returned solemn thanks for the mercy which God had been pleased to grant at their intercessions.

Nine days afterwards, the Spaniards again set out on their march, accompanied by Casquin and a great number of Indians carrying water and other necessaries. The cacique was also accompanied by five thousand of his warriors, as he was at war with the cacique of the next adjoining tribe, and took the opportunity of the Spaniards to assist in the war. During this march they spent three days in getting across a great swamp, when they came in sight of Capaha[26], being the frontier town of the next tribe. This place was fortified on three sides by a wet ditch forty fathoms wide and ten fathoms deep, into which water was conveyed from the great river by a canal three leagues in length. The fourth side, which had no ditch, was secured by high and thick palisades. As the cacique of Capaha was unprovided for resistance, he went away on seeing the approach of his enemies along the canal in a canoe, and sheltered himself in a fortified island in the great river. Many of his subjects accompanied him, and those who remained were butchered by the followers of Casquin, who took the whole scalps[27] of all they killed to carry home

26 On the western bank of the Missisippi, and in the country of the Akansas, there are two Indian towns named Kappas or Quapa, which may possibly have some connection with the Capaha of the text.—E.

27 On all occasions the text of Herrera, as translated by Stephens, names these savage trophies of massacre sculls, which we have ventured to call scalps, consistent with the now universal practice of the North American savages. Possibly the entire scull might be the original trophy, for which the scalp was afterwards substituted as more portable.—E.

home as trophies. They plundered the town, and took many prisoners, among whom were two beautiful women, wives of the cacique. They likewise demolished the burial-place belonging to Capaha, throwing about the bones of his ancestors, and recovered the scalps of their own countrymen which were hung up there as memorials of victory. All this evil was done before the arrival of Soto and the Spaniards, who had not been informed by Casquin of the enmity between him and Capaha. He would even have destroyed the town, if he had not feared giving offence to Soto.

On the coming up of the Spaniards, Soto sent a message to the fugitive cacique by means of some prisoners, offering peace; but Capaha would not hear of any friendly intercourse, and loudly declared his resolution to take ample vengeance of his enemies. Learning that the Spanish commander was making preparations for an attack on Capaha, Casquin requested him to wait for sixty canoes which he had ordered up the river, by means of which the army could be transported to attack the fortified island. In the mean time the troops of Casquin marched through the country of their enemies, which they laid waste on all sides, and in their course set free some of their own countrymen who were there in captivity, and had been lamed by cutting the sinews of one of their legs to prevent them from running away. On going in the canoes to attack the island, a great part of its coast was inaccessible, being overgrown with thick briars and brambles, which formed an impenetrable barrier, and the only accessible part was fortified by several rows of strong palisades. Soto ordered two hundred of his Spanish soldiers to endeavour to land along with the Indians belonging to Casquin. On this occasion one Spaniard was drowned by too great eagerness to get first to land; but the rest managed so well that they soon gained the first palisade, on which the women and children belonging to the defenders set up a terrible cry of consternation. A desperate opposition was made at the second palisade, in which consisted the last refuge of the defenders. The subjects of Capaha reviled those of Casquin, calling them cowardly dogs, who had never ventured before to attack that place, and threatened them with ample vengeance when the valiant strangers had left the country. The subjects of Casquin were so intimidated by these threats and the brave opposition they experienced, that in spite of every thing their cacique could say they took to flight, carrying off forty of the

the canoes, and would have done the same with the other twenty, had not two Spaniards that were left in charge of each defended them with their swords. Being thus deserted by their allies, and having no horses to act against the Indians, the Spaniards began to retire; and when the Indians proposed to pursue them, Capaha restrained them, thinking this a favourable opportunity to embrace the peace he had before rejected, and the Spaniards accordingly retired unmolested.

Next day, without taking any notice whatever of Casquin, Capaha sent four messengers to Soto, apologizing for having before refused peace, which he now sued for, and requested leave to wait upon him. Soto was well pleased with this, and returned a suitable answer. Accordingly, Capaha came next day to the town, attended by an hundred Indians finely adorned with plumes of feathers; and before waiting on the general went to the sepulchre of his forefathers, where he gathered together the bones with anxious care, kissed them with much reverence, and replaced them in their chests or coffins. On coming into the presence of Soto, he paid his compliments with a good grace, and though only about twenty-six years of age gave an intelligent account of the affairs of his country. Turning to his enemy Casquin, he addressed him as follows: "I suppose you are now well pleased at having seen what you never expected, for which you may thank the power of these valiant strangers: But when they are gone, you and I shall understand each other. In the mean time I pray the sun and moon to send us good seasons." Being informed of what Capaha had said, the general without giving time to Casquin to reply, assured Capaha that he and his Spaniards had not come into the country to inflame the enmity of the tribes, but to reconcile them. After more friendly discourse of this nature, Capaha consented to be friends with Casquin, and the two chiefs sat down to dinner with Soto. After the repast, the two women who belonged to Capaha and had been taken prisoners were brought in and restored to him, at which he seemed well pleased, yet presented them to Soto, who declined accepting them; but Capaha desired him to give them to any one he pleased, as they should not stay with him, and they were accordingly admitted among the followers of the Spanish army.

At this time the Spaniards suffered excessively for want of salt,

salt, when they were informed by some Indians that there was plenty to be had, and likewise of the metal they called gold only about four leagues from thence. Soto accordingly sent Ferdinand de Silvera and Pedro Moreno under the guidance of these Indians to the place, ordering them likewise to examine diligently into all the circumstances of the country they passed through. They returned after eleven days with six loads of rock salt, as clear as crystal, and one load of fine copper; and reported that the country they had passed through was rather barren and thinly inhabited. On receiving this report, the general resolved to return in the first place to Casquin, and thence to proceed towards the west, having marched northward all the way from Mavila, in order to remove to a distance from the sea. After resting five days at Casquin, they marched other five days down the river, where at a town in the province of *Quiguate* the inhabitants fled without any hostilities, but they returned in two days and the cacique made an apology for his absence. In the interval, the inhabitants of that place wounded two of the Spaniards, which the general thought proper to overlook under the present circumstances. Departing from Quiguate after a sojourn of seven days, they arrived in five days more at the province of *Colima*, marching still down the river, and were received in a friendly manner. At this place they found another river having blue sand, which was salt to the taste. The Spaniards being much in want of salt, steeped some of this sand in water, which they strained and boiled, and procured excellent salt to their great joy; yet some ate of it so voraciously that ten of them died.

Departing from this province of Colima, which the Spaniards named *De Sal*, or the Salt Country, they marched four days through an uninhabited wilderness, after which they came to a province called *Tula* [28]. On approaching the first town, the whole population both male and female came out to oppose them, and a battle ensued in which the Indians were defeated, and the Spaniards rushed into the town along with the fugitives; and as the inhabitants obstinately refused to submit or surrender they were all massacred. After this, on

28 It is proper to observe that this place is named Fula on another occasion by Herrera.—E.

on Reynoso Cabeza de Vaca [29] going into one of the houses, he was suddenly beset by five women who had hidden themselves in a corner, who would have stifled him if he had not been rescued by two soldiers who came in upon hearing his cries for assistance, and who were forced to kill the women before they could extricate him from their hands. From this place Soto sent out parties of his cavalry to view the country. When any Indians were made prisoners in these excursions, they used to throw themselves on the ground, exclaiming "*either kill me or leave me*," refusing obstinately to accompany the Spaniards, or to give any account of the country. At this place the Spaniards found several well dressed cows hides, though they could never learn from whence they came [30], and likewise other good skins of various kinds. Four days after the arrival of the Spaniards at this place, they were attacked one morning early by surprise by a large party of Indians, in three several places at once, all calling out *Tula! Tula!* continually, which was considered as a watch-word to know each other in the obscurity and confusion of the attack. The Spaniards seized their arms in all haste, invoking the blessed virgin and their patron apostle St Jago for aid, as they were in the utmost peril. In this battle the Indians fought with great clubs, a weapon which had not been seen before in Florida. The Indians continued the assault with such obstinacy till after sunrise, and the Spaniards had been so completely surprised, that they were forced to lay aside all punctilios of military discipline, each using his utmost individual efforts for safety, and the officers even submitting to fight occasionally under the command of their inferiors. At length the Indians were repulsed, and retired unpursued by the Spaniards, of whom four were killed and a good many wounded.

While the Spaniards after the battle were surveying the dead, and looking at the dreadful wounds made by their swords and spears, an Indian started up from among the dead, on which Juan de Caranza ran to attack him. But the Indian gave him such a stroke with a Spanish battle-axe he

29 This may have been a relative of Alvar Nunnez Cabeza de Vaca, whose adventures in escaping from the disastrous expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez to Florida have been related in the third section of this chapter.—E.

30 It is however well known that buffaloes are found in various parts of North America.—E.

he had laid hold of, as to cleave his target and wound him in the arm. On this Diego de Godoy came up to assail him, but was soon disabled. Francisco de Salazar came on next, and made several thrusts at the Indian who skulked behind a tree, but at length gave Salazar so violent a blow on the neck that he dropped from his horse. The fourth Spaniard who came against this single Indian was Gonzalo Silvestre, who conducted himself with more caution. Having avoided a blow aimed at him by the Indian, he gave him in return a back stroke with his sword on the forehead, which glanced down his breast, and cut off his left hand at the wrist. The Indian rushed on aiming a blow at the face of Silvestre, who warded it off with his target, underneath which he with another back stroke cut him almost in two at the waist. The general and many others went up to see this Indian who had made himself so remarkable by his valour, and to admire the wonderful cut he had received from Gonzalo Silvestre; who was well known at the court of Madrid in 1570, by his valour and dexterity.

After remaining twenty days in Tula, the Spaniards departed from thence, accompanied only by one Indian woman and a boy belonging to that place, the former having attached herself to Juan Serrano de Leon, and the other to Christopher de Mosquera. In two days march, they came to the territory of Vitangue, through which they marched for four days, and then took up their quarters in a well built town, which they found abandoned. The situation of this place was advantageous, as it was inclosed with good palisades and there was plenty of provisions both for the men and horses; and as the winter advanced with hasty strides, Soto resolved to remain here till the ensuing spring, although the Indians were continually troublesome, and rejected every proposal for peace.

SECTION

Section VI.

Conclusion of the Expedition to Florida by Ferdinand de Soto [1].

Soto and his men accordingly took up their quarters in the town of Vitangue at the latter end of the year 1541 [2]. As during their abode at this place, the Spaniards often went out to kill deer, rabbits, and roe-bucks, all of which were plentiful and good in the surrounding country, they were frequently on these occasions way-laid by the Indians, who discharged their arrows at them from ambushments and then made their escape. A great deal of snow fell during the winter, but as the Spaniards had abundance of fire-wood and provisions, among which was excellent fruit, they lived in tolerable comfort and in plenty. The cacique of the province, desirous of becoming acquainted with the strength and numbers of the Spaniards, that he might know how best to attack them, sent several messages to the general under pretence of offering to visit him. At first the Spaniards admitted these people into their quarters even under night; but at length Soto began to suspect some sinister purpose, by the frequency of these messages, and gave orders that no more of them should be admitted at night, reproving those who did not chastise and turn back these unseasonable visitors. In consequence of these orders, one of the centinels killed an Indian who impudently endeavoured to force his way into the town next night, for which he was much commended by the general.

Towards the end of winter, several parties were sent out in different directions to endeavour to procure Indians for carrying the baggage, who brought in very few. Upon this Soto set out himself on a similar expedition, with 100 horse and 150 foot. After a march of twenty leagues into the province of *Naguaten*, which was very populous, he attacked a town by surprise one morning at day-break, and returned with many prisoners. In April 1542, the Spaniards broke up from their winter quarters at Vitangue, and in seven days through a fruitful country arrived without opposition at the chief

1 Herrera, VI. 1—30.

2 At this place the text returns to the true date of 1541, quite conformable with the whole tenor of the narrative, and fully confirming our observations respecting erroneous dates in the text on former occasions.—E.

chief town of Naguaten, where they found abundance of provisions, and remained seventeen days. On the sixth day after their arrival, a message was brought from the cacique, to excuse himself for not having visited the general and offering his services. Soto received this messenger with much civility, and sent back a courteous answer. Next day four chiefs came attended by 500 servants with a large quantity of provisions, saying they had been sent by their lord to attend upon the general, but the cacique never made his appearance.

On departing from Naguaten, and after the Spaniards had marched two leagues, they missed a gentleman of Seville, named Diego de Guzman, who had always hitherto behaved himself well, but was much addicted to gaming. On inquiry it was found that Guzman had lost every thing he had at play the day before, among which was a good black horse and a beautiful young Indian woman to whom he was much attached. He had punctually delivered up every thing he had lost, except the woman, whom he promised to yield up in five days. It was concluded therefore that the reason of his disappearance was from shame of having abandoned himself to gaming, and owing to his love for the woman. On this occasion, the general required of the four chiefs belonging to Naguaten to restore Guzman, or that he would detain them as prisoners. They accordingly sent to inquire after him, and it was found that he had gone along with the woman to the cacique, whose daughter she was, that the Indians used him well, and that he refused to return. Upon this, one of the four chiefs asked permission of the general to go and inquire the reason of Guzman refusing to come back, and requested a letter to the deserter to that effect, saying that it was not reasonable he and his comrades should be reduced to slavery for the fault of another person who renounced his country and deserted from his commander. Soto accordingly ordered Baltasar de Gallegos, who was the friend and townsman of Guzman, to write him a letter reproving his behaviour and advising him to return; promising in the name of the general that his horse and arms should be returned, or others given in their room. The Indian who carried this letter was ordered to threaten the cacique with having his country laid waste if he did not restore Guzman. The messenger returned in three days, bringing back the letter, having Guzmans name wrote upon it with a piece of burnt stick, and an answer peremptorily refusing to return. Along with this letter, the

cacique

cacique sent a message, declaring that he had done nothing to oblige Guzman to stay, and did not think himself obliged to force him back, but would on the contrary be well pleased if many others of the Spaniards would stay with him, all of whom should be well used: And if the general thought proper on this account to kill the four chiefs who were in his power and to ruin the country, he certainly might do so, but it would in his opinion be extremely unjust. Perceiving that it was impossible to induce Guzman to return, and that the cacique was in the right, Soto dismissed the four chiefs with some presents, and continued his progress.

After five days march through the province of Naguaten, the Spaniards entered upon a new territory called *Guacane*, inhabited by a fierce and warlike tribe, who obstinately refused to be at peace with them. In all the houses of this tribe, *wooden-crosses* were found; supposed to have been occasioned by what Cabeza de Vaca and his companions had taught in their progress through some other provinces of Florida, from whence these crosses had been conveyed to this province and several others [3]. Soto, having now lost half of his men and horses, was very desirous to establish some colony, that the fatigues and dangers which had been endured by him and his men might turn out to some useful purpose. With this view he was now anxious to return to the great river, repenting that he had not built a town at *Achusi*, as he once designed. He had now a strong inclination to found a colony in some convenient situation near the great river; where he could build two brigantines to send down to the sea, to give notice of the large and fertile provinces he had discovered, considering that if he should happen to die, all the fruits of his labours would be lost. Having marched eight days through the hostile province of *Guacane*, he proceeded by long marches in search of the great river through seven extensive provinces, some of which were fertile. In some of these the Spaniards were received in a friendly manner, as they used every possible means to avoid war, because their numbers were so much diminished, and they feared the summer might pass away before they could reach the great river. Having entered the province of *Anilco*, they marched thirty leagues

3 In Governor Pownalls map of North America, Soto is said to have reached a place called Caligoa in Louisiana on a branch of a Red river, in lat. 36° N. and about 230 miles west from the Missisippi.—E.

leagues through it to a town of four hundred houses, having a large square in which the residence of the cacique stood on an artificial mount on the bank of the river, which was as large as the Guadalquiver at Seville. On their approach to this place, the cacique drew out 1500 warriors to combat the Spaniards; yet as soon as they drew near, all the Indians fled without shooting a single arrow, and crossed the river in canoes and on floats, carrying off their women and children, only a small number being taken by the Spaniards. Soto sent several messages to the cacique requesting peace, but he constantly refused to be seen or to send any answer.

Leaving Anilco, and crossing the river on which it stood without opposition, the Spaniards marched through an extensive unpeopled wilderness overgrown with wood, and came into the province of Guachacoya. The first town they came to was the capital of the province, and was situated on several hillocks at the side of the great river, on one of which hillocks stood the residence of the cacique. Being taken by surprise, as he had received no intelligence of the approach of the Spaniards in consequence of being at war with Anilco, the cacique of Guachacoya saw no likelihood of being able to defend his town, and made therefore a precipitate retreat across the river with his people in canoes and floats, carrying off as many of their effects as they could.

The wars which were carried on among the tribes inhabiting the various districts or provinces of Florida, were not intended to deprive each other of their dominions, neither did they ordinarily engage in pitched battles with their whole forces; but consisted chiefly in skirmishes and mutual surprises, carried on by small parties at the fishing-places, in the hunting grounds, among the corn-fields, and on the paths through the wilderness. Sometimes they burnt the towns of their enemies, but always retired into their own country after any exploit; so that their warlike enterprises seemed rather for exercise in the use of arms, and to shew their valour, than for any solid or public purpose. In some places they ransomed or exchanged prisoners. In others they made them lame of a leg in order to retain them in their service, more from pride and vain glory than for any substantial use or benefit [4].

Three

[4] It is perhaps singular that no mention is made of the cruel manner in which

Three days after the arrival of the Spaniards at Guachacoya, the cacique became acquainted with the unfriendly reception they had received at Anilco. Though a barbarian, he could perceive the advantage which might be derived from that circumstance to obtain revenge upon his enemies, by an alliance with the warlike strangers. He sent therefore four of his inferior chiefs to wait upon the Spanish general attended by a considerable number of Indians loaded with fish and fruit, and desiring permission to wait upon him at the end of four days. Soto accordingly received the messengers with great courtesy, and sent back a friendly answer; yet the wary cacique sent fresh messengers every day to see in what disposition the Spanish general was. At length, being satisfied that Soto was disposed to receive him well, he made his appearance attended by ten chiefs splendidly dressed after their manner, in fine plumes of feathers, and rich furs, but all armed. Soto received them in a friendly manner, and had a long discourse with the cacique in one of the spacious rooms belonging to his residence, by the intervention of interpreters. At one time the cacique happened to sneeze, on which all the Indians who were present bowed their heads and extended their arms, in token of salute; some saying, *the sun preserve you*, others *the sun be with you*, and others *may the sun make you great*, with other complimentary expressions of similar import. Among other discourse at this interview, the cacique proposed to Soto to return into the province of Anilco to take revenge on the cacique for his enmity, and offered to supply 80 canoes to carry the Spaniards down the great river and up that of Anilco, the distance being only twenty leagues, when the rest of the army marching by land might form a junction in the centre of the enemies country. As Soto was inclined to take a full view of the country, meaning to form a settlement between these two provinces, where he might build his brigantines, he agreed to this proposal, and accordingly orders were given out to prepare for the march. Juan de Guzman was ordered to embark with his company on board the canoes, which were likewise to carry 4000 Indians, and who were expected to join the forces which marched by land at the end of three days. Soto and the rest of the Spanish forces

which the North American Indians were in use to put their prisoners to death. Probably that practice was then confined to the tribes farther to the north and west.—E.

forces marched by land, being accompanied by Guachacoya with 2000 warriors, besides a large number carrying the provisions.

They all met at the time appointed, and as the Anilcans were unable to oppose the great force which came against them, the Guachacoyans entered the town killing all they met, without regard to age or sex; committed all imaginable barbarities, broke open the sepulchres scattering and trampling on the bones, and took away the scalps of their countrymen and other trophies which the Anilcans had hung up in commemoration of their victories. On seeing the barbarity of his allies, Soto sounded a retreat and ordered the Spaniards to turn the Indians out of the town, wishing anxiously to put a stop to any farther mischief, and to prevent it from being set on fire. But all his efforts were ineffectual, as the Guachacoyans thrust burning brands into the thatch of the houses, which soon took fire, and the town was utterly destroyed. The Spaniards and their allies now returned to Guachacoya, where Soto gave orders for cutting down and hewing timber with which to build the brigantines, and to prepare iron work for their construction; designing when the vessels were finished to cross the river into a province named *Quiqualtangui*, which was very fertile and populous, the cacique of which had a town of five hundred houses, but who could never be induced to listen to proposals of peace from the Spaniards: On the contrary, he had sworn by the sun and moon, that he would give battle to these vagabond robbers, and would hang up their quarters on trees. The general endeavoured to appease him with presents and fair words, being always generous towards the leaders of the barbarians, endeavouring to bear with and soften their savage manners, and to conciliate their friendship. By this wise conduct he had hitherto been able to subsist his troops for so long a time among so many fierce and savage nations.

While engaged in these things, Soto was seized with a violent fever, which increased upon him so that he soon perceived it would prove mortal. He made therefore his will, and endeavoured to prepare for death like a good Christian. That nothing might be left unprovided for, he appointed in presence of all his officers and principal followers Luis Moscoso de Alvarado to succeed him in the command till the king might order otherwise; and after commending the virtue and bravery of Alvarado, he entreated and commanded all to

 yield

yield him implicit obedience, even taking their oaths to that purpose, and represented to them how necessary it was for them all to be united and obedient, for their own preservation among these barbarous nations. He then took an affectionate leave of all his officers and soldiers, and departed this life on the seventh day of his illness, after performing all the duties of a zealous Christian. Ferdinand de Soto was of a comely appearance and pleasant countenance, and of affable and generous dispositions. He was an excellent soldier, and managed his weapons with much dexterity both on foot and on horseback; skilful and experienced in all military affairs; always brave and cool in action, and the foremost in every enterprise of danger: severe in punishing when necessary, yet easy to forgive, and always inclined to please his soldiers when that might be done without lessening his authority. At his death he was only forty-two years of age, and had expended his whole fortune, exceeding 100,000 ducats on this romantic and fruitless expedition. His death was universally lamented among his followers, as he had acquired their universal love and esteem by his excellent qualities and conduct. It was thought necessary to bury him under night, that his death might not be known to the Indians, nor the place of his interment, lest they should insult his remains; but in spite of all their precautions the secret was revealed; for which reason they hollowed out a log of oak into which they put his body, and sunk it in the middle of the great river, at a place where it was a quarter of a league across and nineteen feet deep.

When the funeral of the general was over, Luis de Alvarado assembled his officers to hold a council upon the present state of their affairs. After thanking them for admitting him as their commander, and making a statement of their numbers, arms, and ammunition, he desired they would determine upon what was best to be done, considering the fierceness and inveterate enmity of the barbarous nations by whom they were surrounded: Whether to prosecute what had been previously resolved upon by their late lamented general, or to devise some other measure for extricating themselves from the country, declaring that he was ready to proceed according to their opinion and advice. In their answer, the officers thanked him for the compliment he paid them, but referred the determination respecting their future proceedings to himself, and again submitted to obey him as their commander.

The death of Soto had made a great change in the minds of the Spanish forces, who now determined to abandon the country they had taken so much pains to discover. Accordingly, they set out on the 5th of July 1542, and marched above 100 leagues to the westwards, through a barren and desert country[5]. On leaving Guachacoya they were joined by an Indian youth of about sixteen years of age, whom they did not observe till the fourth day of their march. Suspecting him of being a spy, Alvarado asked him who he was and what was his object in following them. He said that he had fled from Guachacoya, because the chief whom he served was at the point of death, and he had been appointed to be buried alive along with his master, as it was the custom of the country to inter women and servants along with great personages, to minister to them in the next world.

At the end of the 100 leagues of wilderness, the Spaniards came to a province called *Auche*, where they were well received, and where they rested for two days. Still determined upon proceeding to the westwards, they were informed that they had a desert wilderness of four days journey to cross, and received a supply of provisions sufficient for the journey, with a guide to conduct them through the wilderness. But after having marched for eight days in that direction, still in the unhospitable and unpeopled wilds, and having been three days without Indian corn, they discovered that they had been imposed upon and were likely to perish of famine. Alvarado now ordered a dog to be let loose upon the faithless guide; who acknowledged that he had received orders from the cacique of Auche to lead them into the heart of the desert that they might there perish, because he did not think himself able to contend with them in arms. He craved pardon therefore of the general for having obeyed the orders of his chief, and engaged to lead the army in three days more, still proceeding to the westwards, to an inhabited country where they would find provisions. But the Spaniards were so incensed against him for leading them into the present alarming situation, that they would not listen to his apology or promises, and permitted the dogs to devour him. Thus left in the utmost

5 Though not directly so expressed in the text; it may be inferred from circumstances in the after part of the narrative, that the present object of Alvarado and the Spaniards, was to endeavour to find their way by land to the northern part of New Spain.—E.

utmost want of provisions, and utterly ignorant of the country, the Spaniards held on their way towards the west for other three days, during which they had to subsist upon any wild plants they could find; and at length came to an inhabited though barren country. They here procured the means of subsistence, particularly beef, and saw many fresh cows hides, though the Indians never shewed them any cows[6]. While the Spaniards were proceeding on their march through this province, which they denominated *De los Vaqueros*[7], or the tribe of cow-herds, they observed an Indian approach from the skirts of a wood, and believing he might have brought some message from the cacique, they permitted him to draw near. But as soon as he was within reach, he levelled an arrow at five or six soldiers who stood together, who fortunately escaped the danger by stepping to a side; but the arrow flew among some Indian women who were dressing provisions for their masters, pierced one of them quite through, and wounded another in the breast, so that both died. On the alarm being given, Baltasar Gallegos, who happened to be at hand, overtook the Indian before he could get back to the wood, and slew him.

Having travelled above thirty leagues westwards through this province of the cow-herds, they discovered a ridge of vast mountains still farther to the west, which from their own scouts and the information of the Indians, they learnt were barren, desert, and unpeopled. They were also informed, that if they bent their course to the right hand, they would come into a desert country; but that to the left, though a longer way, they would travel through inhabited and plentiful countries[8]. Considering what they had endured in their late march

6 Unquestionably because they had none to produce. The beef and the hides were assuredly acquired by hunting the wild American buffaloe or bison.—E.

7 In this rare instance our maps throw some light on the text. Nearly in the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio, but 700 or 800 miles west from the Missisippi, there is a nation named the Apaches Vaqueros, probably the same indicated in the text. The route thither from the Missisippi leads through several tribes of savage Indians, named Ozages, Paducas, and Kanzez.—E.

8 There is some ambiguity in the text, from which it is difficult to ascertain whether the left and right hand of their general line of march is now to be respectively considered as south and north, or the contrary. But as coupled with their intended return towards the great river, now to the east, the *left* means probably the *north*, and the *right* the *south*.—E.

march through the desert intervening between Auche and the country of *Los Vaqueros*, they had determined upon giving up their first plan of proceeding by land to Mexico, thinking it better to return to the great river, and so proceed to the sea pursuant to the plan originally proposed by their late general. They accordingly took long marches to the *southwards*, taking care not to offend the barbarians, yet they were teased by frequent attacks while leaving the country of the cow-herds. On one of these occasions a soldier was wounded by an arrow, which penetrated through his greaves and thigh, and passing through the saddle lap, ran two fingers breadth into the horses side, the arrow being made of reed with no other head than the reed itself hardened in the fire and sloped to a point. The wounded soldier was lifted from his horse, the arrow being previously cut off between his thigh and the saddle, and he was left to cure himself, as he had formerly performed many wonderful cures on his comrades with only oil and wool, assisted by prayers. But since the battle of Mavila, in which all the oil was lost, he had never attempted to cure either others or himself, though twice wounded before, believing that the cure could not be performed without oil and dirty wool. In this distress, he swore that he would not submit to the surgeons, and would rather die than allow them to dress his wound. Having no oil, he substituted hogs lard, and procured some wool from an Indian mantle, as the Spaniards had now no shirts or any other linen among them, and to the astonishment of every one he was so sound in four days that he was able to mount his horse on the fifth day. He now begged pardon of the soldiers for having allowed so many of his comrades to perish, by refusing to cure them, as he had believed the efficacy of his mode of cure depended on the oil, but as he now found that it consisted in the holy words he had pronounced over the dressings, he desired they might again recur to him when wounded, and he would exert himself as formerly. This soldier, named Sanjurgo Gallego, was very chaste, a good Christian, ever ready to serve all men, and had many other virtues[9].

9 Though not mentioned in the text, it is not improbable that Gallego had formerly placed considerable dependence on the use of *holy* oil, or chrysm. The whole secret of his surgery seems to have consisted in the application of bland oils, and leaving nature to operate, without the employment

After leaving the territories of the cow-herds, the Spaniards marched for twenty days through the lands of other tribes. Being of opinion that they had declined too much from the direction of Guachacoya, to which place they now proposed returning, the Spaniards now directed their course eastwards, still inclining somewhat towards the *north*, so that in this way they crossed the direction they had formerly gone in their march from Auche to the country of the cow-herds, yet without perceiving it. When at length they reached the great river, it was the middle of September, having travelled three months from leaving Guachacoya; and though they had fought no pitched battle during all that time, they were never free from alarm night or day, so that they had lost forty soldiers during this last useless and circuitous march. The Indians on every opportunity shot all who happened to stray from the main body, and would often crawl on all fours at night into their quarters, shoot their arrows, and make their escape, unseen by the centinels. To add to their distresses, the winter now began to set in, with much rain, snow and excessive cold weather. On coming to where they proposed quartering for the night, though wet, cold, weary and hungry, they were obliged to send parties in advance to secure them, generally by force, and after all were mostly under the necessity of procuring provisions by means of their swords. Besides all this, they were often forced to construct rafts or floats on which to pass rivers, which sometimes occupied them five or six days. The horsemen were frequently obliged to pass the night on horseback, and the infantry to stand up to their knees in mire and water, with hardly any clothes to cover them, and such as they had always wet. Owing to these accumulated hardships, many of the Spaniards and their Indian attendants fell sick, and the distemper proceeded to the horses, so that sometimes four or five men and horses died in a day, and sometimes seven, whom they scarcely had leisure to bury for haste in pursuing their march.

In this miserable condition they came to the great river about the latter end of November[10]. In their march on the west

ployment of the ancient barbarous methods of cure, by tents, escharotics, cautery, and heating inflammatory applications; which in modern times, abandoned by surgeons, have been adopted by farriers.—E.

10 They were already said to have reached it in the middle of September. The discrepancy may either be an oversight of Herrera; or they took from the

west side of the great river, from leaving the territory of Guachacoya to their arrival at their new winter quarters, they had marched by estimation 350 leagues, and lost 100 men and 80 horses by the way, without counting their Indian servants, who were of vast use. This was the only fruit of their long and painful march westwards in quest of New Spain, and of refusing to follow the plan which had been devised by their late general for descending the great river to the sea. At this period they were much gratified by finding two contiguous towns on the great river of 200 houses each, which were enclosed by a wet ditch drawn from the river. They were now reduced to 320 foot and 70 horse, or 390 in all, who now remained of 900 men and 330 horses which had landed in the bay of Espiritu Santo at the end of May 1539, four years and a half before. Yet inured to hardships and accustomed to conquer, they immediately attacked and gained possession of these towns, from which the inhabitants fled, having heard of the irresistible valour of the Spaniards from other tribes. They had the good fortune to find plenty of provisions in these towns, and to remain undisturbed by the Indians, so that they soon recovered from their fatigues; yet several died in consequence of their past sufferings, and among the rest Juan Ortiz, their chief interpreter and an excellent soldier.

Having determined to take up their quarters at this place, they fortified one of the towns to serve as quarters for the winter. This province, called *Aminoya*, lay seventeen leagues farther up the river than Guachacoya, to which they had endeavoured to direct their course on returning from the province of *Los Vaqueros*. Being somewhat recovered towards the end of January 1543, they set to work to cut down and prepare timber for building their brigantines. At this place, an old Indian, who had been unable to make his escape along with the rest, objected to their staying in their present quarters for the winter, saying that the river was in use to overflow every fourteen years, and that this was the expected season of its doing so. They refused however to profit by this information, of which they had sufficient reason to repent in the sequel. The return of the Spaniards to the great river

the middle of September to the end of November, in descending the right bank of the great river to where they passed the winter, having come to it much higher up than they intended.—E.

river was soon known in all the neighbouring districts. Upon which the cacique of Anilco, to prevent them from favouring the Guachacoyans as formerly, sent an embassy to Alvarado, offering his friendship and making mighty promises. The ambassador sent upon this occasion by Anilco was his *Apu* or lieutenant-general, who brought great abundance of fruit and other things to the Spaniards, and 200 Indian servants to attend upon them and supply their wants. Having delivered his message, the Apu sent back the answer to the cacique, and remained with the Spaniards. The cacique of Guachacoya came likewise to wait upon the Spanish general, with a great present, to confirm the former friendship, and though he saw the lieutenant of his enemy among the Spaniards, he took no notice of the circumstance. On consultation about the brigantines, it was found that it would require seven of them to accommodate all the people; and the timber being all hewed and ready, the work was begun in earnest, and occupied their utmost diligence all the months of February, March and April 1543, during all which time they were amply supplied with all necessaries by Anilco, who even furnished them with blankets and mantles to defend themselves from the cold. These articles of clothing were manufactured by the Indians from an herb resembling mallows, which has fibres like those of flax; and the dresses which are made of this substance are afterwards dyed according to their fancies. On the present occasion, the Spaniards reserved the new blankets and mantles furnished by Anilco for sails to their brigantines, and broke up those which were old and useless to serve as oakum for caulking their vessels. Of the same materials the Spaniards made all kinds of cordage for their brigantines, from the smallest ropes up to cables; and in every thing the cacique Anilco, to whom they had formerly done so much injury, assisted the Spaniards to the utmost of his power, while Guachacoya was exceedingly dissatisfied at seeing the intimacy between them.

On the other side of the river there lay a large and fertile province called *Quiqualtanqui*, the cacique of which was a haughty warlike youth, who believed that although the Spaniards were now building vessels to convey them out of the country, they might yet return in greater numbers to enslave the natives. For this reason he determined to destroy them, and assembled forces from all parts of the country, both those of his own tribe and from all the tribes around. Having concluded

cluded an extensive confederacy and begun his preparations for war, he sent a friendly message to Alvarado to lull him into security, advising all his confederates to do the same. The general gave them all favourable answers, yet kept himself carefully on his guard. *Quiqualtanqui* invited Anilco to join in the confederacy, instead of which he gave notice of it to the Spaniards. It was not known how Guachacoya stood affected on this occasion, but he was suspected of having hostile intentions, as he made no communication of the conspiracy. The confederates continued to send frequent messages and presents to the Spaniards to discover what they were doing; and though repeatedly warned not to come to their quarters under night they took no notice of it. One night that Gonzalo Silvestre happened to stand centinel in the second watch, the moon shining very bright, he observed two armed Indians in their plumes of feathers, passing over the ditch on a tree that lay across instead of a bridge. These men came to a postern which they entered without asking leave, on which Silvestre gave one of them a cut on the forehead, on which he immediately fled. The other Indian, without waiting for his wounded companion, got into the canoe on the river and gave the alarm to his party. The wounded man, missing the tree across the ditch, swam over and cried out for assistance when he came to the river, on which some of his friends came and carried him off. At sunrise, Quiqualtanqui sent four messengers demanding that Alvarado should punish the centinel for having been guilty of a breach of the peace, more especially as the wounded man was a chief. Four other messengers arrived at mid-day on a similar errand, saying that the wounded chief was at the point of death; and four more came in the afternoon affirming that he was dead, and insisted that the centinel should be publicly punished, since the action he had committed was an affront to all the Indians of the confederacy. Alvarado boldly answered, that they had been previously and repeatedly warned never to come to the Spanish quarters under night, being always welcome and honourably treated through the day. He added that though sincerely sorry for what had happened, he could not possibly punish the centinel who had only done his duty according to military discipline, neither would his soldiers allow of any such thing being done. The confederates thought fit to connive at this transaction, satisfied that Alvarado was a man of invincible courage and wise conduct; yet resolved

resolved upon executing their design against the Spaniards as soon as possible.

Being eager to get away from the country, the Spaniards laboured indefatigably in fitting out the vessels, even the best gentlemen among them using the utmost diligence; while those who were not handy in the several occupations about the brigantines employed themselves in hunting and fishing to procure provisions for the rest. Among other fish taken on the present occasion, one was taken by means of a hook of such enormous dimensions, that the head alone weighed forty pounds. The confederate Indians under Quiqualtanqui continued their warlike preparations, being much encouraged by knowing that Ferdinand de Soto was dead, that the number of the Spaniards was very much diminished, and that very few horses were left. So confident were they of success, that two of their spies desired some of the Indian women who served the Spaniards to be patient, for they would soon be freed from their bondage to these vagabond robbers, as they were all to be slain. But the women disclosed this to their masters. When the night happened to be very still, the noise of many people could be heard from the opposite side of the river; and the Spaniards could distinctly see numerous fires at regular distances, as of the quarters of a large army. But it pleased God to confound the evil designs of these Indians, by an inundation of the river, which began on the 10th of March 1543, and increased with prodigious rapidity, so that on the 18th which was Palm Sunday, when the Spaniards were in procession, for they observed all the religious solemnities, the water broke in at the gates of the town, and there was no going along the streets for long after but in canoes. This inundation was forty days of rising to its greatest height, which was on the 20th of April, at which time it extended above twenty leagues on each side of the river, so that nothing could be seen in all the country around but the tops of the trees, and the people had to go every where in canoes.

During the time of this terrible inundation, Alvarado sent twenty Spaniards to Anilco to request a supply of rosin, blankets, and cordage for completing the equipment of the vessels, and these men were sent in four canoes lashed two and two together, to prevent them from being overset by the trees which were under water. On coming to the town of Anilco, they found it destroyed, though twenty leagues from the Spanish quarters, and the inundation had extended five leagues

leagues farther. Gonzalo Silvestre who commanded these Spaniards was greatly in favour of the cacique Anilco, because he had restored to him a youth who had accompanied the Spaniards on their march to the westwards, who perfectly understood the Spanish language, and was so much attached to the Spaniards as to be very averse from returning to his father. On this occasion Anilco supplied Silvestre with every thing of which he was in want.

It pleased God that the water began to subside towards the latter end of April; yet so slowly that on the 10th of May there was no going about the streets of the town on account of the deep mire with which they were filled. This was the more distressing to the Spaniards as they were barefooted, all their shoes having been burnt at Mavila, and the shoes they had since been able to make, being of untanned leather, were like so much tripe as soon as wet. At the latter end of May, the great river returned to its usual channel, and the confederated Indians again drew their forces together to execute their original design against the Spaniards, of which they received intelligence from Anilco; who likewise informed Alvarado of the signals which had been concerted by the confederates for the better prosecution of their enterprise, and even offered to assist the Spaniards with 8000 well armed warriors, and that if they chose to retire into his country the confederates would not dare to attack them. Alvarado returned thanks for these friendly offers, but declined accepting them; because as he intended to go down the river and to quit the country, he did not deem it proper either to take refuge in the territory of Anilco or to accept the assistance of his warriors, as either of those might draw upon him the confederated hostility of his neighbours: But he promised, if it should please God ever to put it in his power, Anilco should not have cause to repent the service he had been of to the king of Spain, or the kindness he had shewn to the Spaniards. In conclusion, he recommended to Anilco to discontinue any farther intercourse with him, lest he might give umbrage to the confederated caciques. Many of the Spaniards were so puffed up by the friendly offers of Anilco, that they endeavoured to persuade Alvarado to accept the proferred aid, and prosecute an offensive war, thinking it easy to subdue these people. But Alvarado was quite sensible of his present weakness, and determined to leave the country as soon as possible;

possible; besides which he did not deem it prudent to confide too much on the fidelity of Anilco.

Four days afterwards, exactly conformable to the information received from Anilco, a numerous embassy arrived from the confederated caciques, intended to spy out the posture of the Spaniards, to enable them to concert measures for the intended attack. Having rigidly examined these pretended messengers, it was debated among the leaders of the Spaniards what ought to be done with these fraudulent envoys. Some were for giving them fair words, as had been the practice hitherto; but it was finally resolved to punish them in an exemplary manner, that the caciques might know their treachery was discovered, which might perhaps prevent the execution of their designs. Accordingly though the messengers on this occasion were very numerous, thirty only were selected who had their hands cut off, and were sent back in this guise to their employers, with a message signifying that the Spaniards had all along been aware of their villainy. This severe example proved successful, insomuch that the confederacy was immediately dissolved, and the forces retired to their respective countries. Yet as the Spaniards had only built seven great boats, they thought they might possibly be more successful by water, and they agreed to collect a great number of canoes to attack them while going down the river.

As the Spaniards believed that their only safety depended upon going down the river as soon as possible, they hastened the completion of their vessels; and as they had not enough of iron for the construction of whole decks, they satisfied themselves with quarter-decks and fore-castles to secure the provisions, laying planks only a midships. Every thing relative to the brigantines being completed, they gathered all the Indian corn, pulse, and dried fruit they could procure; made bacon of all the swine that were left alive, except eighteen they carried with them alive, and two boars and two sows which they gave to each of the two caciques who were their friends. With the lard of the slaughtered swine, they tempered rosin instead of pitch and tar for paying their vessels. They likewise provided a number of canoes; part of which were lashed two and two together to carry thirty horses which still remained alive, and answered well for the purpose; the rest were distributed among the brigantines, each having one at her stern to serve as a boat. On midsummer day 1543 the

the brigantines were launched into the great river, and on St Peters day, the 29th of that month, every thing being in readiness, the brigantines and canoes having defences made of boards and skins to fend off the arrows, they took leave of the friendly caciques, Anilco and Guachacoya, and set sail down the great river.

Two captains were appointed to each brigantine, that when one had occasion to land the other might remain on board in charge of the vessel. About 350 Spaniards embarked, all that remained of 900 who had originally landed in Florida. Near thirty Indian men and women were on board each vessel, all of their own free will, as they declared they would rather die with their masters than remain behind. Accordingly on St Peters day before mentioned, about sunset, after Alvarado had given regular instructions to all his officers and encouraged his men, they began their voyage, holding on their course down the river both with sails and oars, all that night and the next day and night. But on the following day they were opposed by a fleet of near 1000 canoes belonging to the confederated caciques, some of which were so large as to have twenty-five paddles on each side, and carrying many armed men besides the rowers. These large canoes were called the *admirals*, as being supposed to have the principal commanders on board. One was painted red, another blue, and others of several colours; the men on board having their bodies painted of the same colours as the canoes, as were their bows. All this splendid shew, with the variegated plumes of feathers on the heads of the warriors, made a grand display. While they rowed after the Spaniards, they kept time to their songs, which were said by the interpreters to signify, "That the vagabond strangers should all be slain on the water, and become food for the fishes."

After taking a close view of the Spanish brigantines, the Indians divided their fleet of canoes into three equal squadrons, plying up close to the bank on the starboard side; and when up with the brigantines, the van forming a long and narrow line a-head, crossed the river obliquely passing close by the brigantines, into which they all successively threw in a shower of arrows, by which several Spaniards were wounded notwithstanding their targets and baricades. The other squadrons did the same in regular order, and as the brigantines continued on their course, the squadrons of canoes continued successively to repeat similar charges, both

day and night, expecting in this manner to destroy all the Spaniards by degrees. The Spaniards held on their way for ten successive days and nights, continually assailed in this manner by the Indians, and doing some execution in their turn by means of their crossbows, all their musquets having been turned into iron work for the brigantines, having become useless as all their powder was expended. At the end of these ten days, the Indian fleet drew back from the Spaniards to the distance of about half a league. The Spaniards still advancing came in sight of a small town, and supposed from the Indians leaving them that they were now near the sea, having run by estimation 200 leagues, as they used both sails and oars, and went straight down the river without stopping in any place. Being desirous of procuring provisions, Alvarado ordered 100 men to land, with eight horses; and as the Indians immediately abandoned their town, they procured plenty of provisions of all sorts. In this town likewise they found leather made of goats skins, some white, and some of various colours, and other skins of different kinds well dressed, and many mantles. They found here a long slip of the finest sables, eight ells in length and an ell broad, adorned at regular distances with strings of pearls and small tufts of seed pearl, regularly placed. Gonzalo Silvestre who commanded on this enterprise, got this rarity to his share, which was supposed to be some ensign of war, or some ornament for their dances.

As many Indians appeared collecting in the fields, and the canoes were returning to attack the brigantines, Alvarado ordered the trumpets to sound a retreat to recall Silvestre and his men on board. On this occasion the Spaniards were obliged to abandon their horses, which the Indians immediately shot to death with their arrows. When the party was all returned to the brigantines, the Spaniards resumed their voyage down the river, followed by the canoes, which did not now retain their former order, but followed in several separate squadrons. On the thirteenth day of their voyage down the great river, one of the brigantines happening to fall about an hundred paces behind the rest, the Indians immediately attacked and even boarded it, and would in all probability have made themselves master of it, had not the other brigantines come up to its rescue. However the Indians carried off the canoe from the stern, in which were five sows that had been reserved for a breed.

On the sixteenth day of the voyage, one Estevanez, a desperate yet clownish fellow, who was vain of the reputation he had acquired by his intrepidity, took away the canoe from the stern of the brigantine in which he was embarked, and persuaded five other soldiers to accompany him, saying that he was going to perform an exploit to gain fame, and to obtain leave of the captain of the vessel, he pretended that he was going to speak with the general. When he had got clear of the brigantine, he immediately made towards the enemy, crying out *fall on them! they run!* When Alvarado saw this mad action he endeavoured to recall Estevanez by sound of trumpet, and sent about forty men after him in several canoes under the command of Juan de Guzman, to bring back Estevanez whom Alvarado intended to hang for his breach of discipline. At the same time the brigantines furled their sails and rowed up against the stream to support the canoes. The Indian canoes, which covered the water for an extent of a quarter of a league, retreated a little way on purpose to separate the Spanish canoes from the brigantines; on which, quite frantic at seeing them give way, Estevanez pushed on, followed by the other canoes which were sent to bring him back. The Indian canoes then drew up in form of a crescent, and when the Spanish canoes were well advanced among them, those Indian canoes which formed the horn or point on the right, attacked them so furiously athwart ships that they sunk them all, by which means all the Spaniards were drowned, and if any happened to appear above water, they were either shot with arrows, or had their brains dashed out by the paddles. Thus forty-eight Spaniards perished, only four escaping of all that were in the canoes. The Indians held on their pursuit of the brigantines all that day making continual rejoicings for their victory. On the *seventeenth* day at sun-rise, when the Indians had paid their adorations to the sun with hideous cries, and a prodigious noise of drums, horns, and trumpets, they ceased the pursuit of the Spaniards and retired, having continued the chase about four hundred leagues.

The river was now estimated by the Spaniards to be *fifteen* leagues across, from which they concluded they were near the sea, yet did not venture to quit the main stream for fear of hidden danger. Thus holding on their course, on the nineteenth day of their voyage they came to the sea, computing

puting that they had run little short of 500 leagues [11], from the place where they built their brigantines. Being ignorant whereabout they were, they cast anchor at an island, where they rested three days to recover from their long fatigues and continual watching, and to refit their brigantines. They here computed how far they had been up the country, and as already mentioned estimated the distance from where the brigantines were built to the sea at near 500 leagues: And as the river was there nineteen feet deep and a quarter of a league over, they conjectured that the source of the river might be still 300 leagues farther up the country, or 800 leagues in its whole course. When the Spaniards had been three days in this island, they observed seven canoes to issue from a place overgrown with tall reeds, and come towards them. When within hearing, a gigantic man, as black as a negro, stood up in the headmost canoe and addressed them in the following harangue: "Wherefore do you vagabond robbers stroll about this coast, disturbing its inhabitants? Get you gone speedily by one of the mouths of the great river, and let me not find you here after this night, or I will kill you all and burn your ships!" After this he withdrew among the reeds, and Alvarado sent Gonzalo Silvestre with 100 men in the remaining canoes to examine the inlet among the reeds. Of these men seventeen were armed with cross-bows and three had long bows taken from the Indians, as the want of musquets had induced the Spaniards to use the arms of their enemies, at which they were become skilful. On getting into the creek or inlet among the reeds, Silvestre found sixty small canoes drawn up in readiness to receive him, which he immediately attacked, and overset three of them at the first shock,

11 Five hundred Spanish leagues at 17½ to a degree, or about four English miles, would amount to about 2000 miles of voyage down the Missisippi; but we have no sufficient warrant in the text to ascertain the league used by Herrera, neither is it probable that the Spaniards on this occasion could make any computation nearly accurate. The only reasonable conjecture on this subject is from the number of days employed in descending the river, which the text informs us was *nineteen*, three of which we may suppose were occupied in different stoppages. We know likewise from Imlays Description of Kentucky, p. 126, that the ordinary rate of descending the Missisippi is about 80 miles a day. On these data, the Spaniards made a voyage down that river of about 1280 English miles, from which we may conclude that they had wintered somewhere about the situation of New Madrid, in lat. 36° 30' N. or perhaps nearly opposite the junction of the Ohio with the great river.—E.

shock, wounding many of the Indians; and as all the rest of the canoes immediately fled, Silvestre and his party returned to the brigantines.

Leaving the island, and going out into the open sea, the Spaniards now bore away to the westwards to endeavour to find their way to New Spain, always keeping the coast of Florida [12] on their starboard-side or right hand. They knew not whereabout they were, and had neither chart nor compass to guide their course, neither had they any instrument to find the latitude; but they satisfied themselves in the hope of reaching New Spain by following the coast. During all the first day and night, they continued to sail among the fresh water of the great river. After this they held on their course for fifteen days without any thing remarkable taking place; only that they were under the necessity of landing every day to procure water, as they had no vessels in which to carry any store on board. At the end of that period they got among a parcel of small islands, which were frequented by such multitudes of sea fowl that the entire surface was covered by their nests, so that there was scarcely room to tread. These furnished an ample supply of provisions, though their flesh had somewhat of a fishy taste. Next day they landed on a pleasant shore covered with trees, to procure water; and while looking about in search of shell fish, some pieces of bitumen were found resembling pitch, and upon farther search they were fortunate enough to find the source whence it flowed. On finding this convenience, they thought proper to repair or careen their brigantines, which had become leaky, which they did by means of this bitumen melted along with a proper quantity of hogs lard. This work occupied them for eight days, during which time they only saw eight Indians, to whom they gave some trinkets they had yet remaining, without asking any questions respecting the country where they now were, as all their hopes and wishes centered in arriving in New Spain.

They proceeded on their voyage keeping as close as possible to the shore, for fear of being driven out to sea by the north wind, and likewise for the convenience of fishing, as they had nothing

12 It has been already noticed that the term Florida is used in the whole of this chapter in a very extended sense, being applied to all of North America to the north of the Gulf of Mexico. Immediately on leaving the great river or Missisippi, and sailing to the west, the coast is now known under the name of Louisiana.—E.

nothing else now to eat, for which reason they always made some stay wherever they found good fishing-grounds. They continued always in this manner, coasting the land which lay to starboard, the wisest among them being quite ignorant whereabout they were, yet always satisfied that by holding this course they must at length get to New Spain if not swallowed up by the waves. At the end of fifty-three days after leaving the great river, the north wind of which they had been so long in dread began to blow with great fury [13]. On this occasion five of the vessels which kept close under the land sought shelter in a creek; but the other two, being somewhat farther out at sea, were in great danger of perishing. They were all stark naked, having only clouts hung before them, and were almost drowned with wet and benumbed with cold, as part of them had continually to bale out the water from their vessels while the rest handed the sails. At length the gale somewhat moderating, they were able to shape a course to the westwards, and having been twenty-six hours in great distress without food or sleep, they discovered land about sunset. One young man who had been twice before upon the coast said that he now knew the land, though he could not say in what country it was: But he said that part which seemed black was a high bluff impracticable shore, while that which had a white appearance was a clean soft sandy beach, and advised them to endeavour to make for that part before night, as if the wind should drive them on the black coast there would be no probability of saving their lives. The officers of the brigantine in which this young man was endeavoured by signs to make known what was intended to the other vessel, and then made direct for the white coast followed by the other, and before sunset ran both vessels aground on the sandy beach, after which they lightened both vessels by carrying every thing on shore, and propped them up to keep them from oversetting. Having thus landed, two men undertook to go in quest of the other brigantines.

Next day three parties were sent out in different directions to discover the country. The two parties which went along the coast to the right and left soon returned with some broken pieces of earthen ware, of the kinds which are made at Ta-lavera

13 By this time their course must have long been almost due south along the coast of the new kingdom of Leon, and province of Nuevo Santander.—E.

lavera and Malaga in Spain, which gave them much satisfaction to think that they must now be in the neighbourhood of their countrymen. Gonzalo Silvestre, who went up the country with the third party, at the end of a quarter of a league saw some Indians fishing on a lake[14], and two others gathering fruit from the trees. The Spaniards endeavoured to lay hold of these two Indians, but one of them escaped by swimming over the lake. Silvestre found likewise in a cottage two small baskets of fruit, a turkey, a cock and two Spanish hens, and some conserve of *maguey*. Still holding fast the Indian, Silvestre went back to his comrades at the sea-side, and to all the inquiries they made of the Indian as to where they were, his only answer was *Brezos! Brezos!* which, as they afterwards learnt, was meant to signify that he belonged to a Spaniard named Christoval de Brezos. On rejoining his companions, Silvestre found them rejoicing at the sight of the broken earthen dishes; but they were still more gratified at seeing the Spanish poultry, and the Indian being now reassured on finding he was in the hands of Spaniards, told them they were in the province of Panuco, and that the other brigantines had gone up the river Tampico to that city, which was ten leagues off. He said likewise that he belonged to one Christoval de Brezos; and that a cacique resided only at the distance of a league and a half who could read and write. Accordingly they gave the Indian some toys and sent him to the cacique; and in four hours afterwards the cacique came to them attended by eight Indians, loaded with fowls, fish, fruit, and Indian corn, and brought them paper, pens, and ink, that they might write an account of their arrival and situation to the governor of Panuco.

The two men who had gone in search of the five brigantines, found them in the river Tampico, so that the whole company met at the end of eight days, all barefooted and almost entirely naked, having only some scanty coverings of the skins of deer, bears, and other animals. The governor of Panuco treated them with much attention, and sent advice of their situation to the viceroy of Mexico, who ordered them

to

14 Probably the lake of *Tamiagua,* a few miles south from the river *Tampico,* into which, as will be found in the sequel, the other five brigantines had got at the beginning of the storm. In this case, the two brigantines had run upon a spit which separates that lake or lagoon from the sea.—E.

to be sent without delay to that city, and sent them four horse-loads of shirts, shoes, and other necessaries, besides medicines and sweetmeats. After recovering from their fatigues, the men were ready to destroy their officers for not having settled in Florida, where there was such plenty of pearls and rich furs. On their march to Mexico, which was made in several detachments to avoid mischief, the people everywhere ran to see them pass as so many monsters. At Mexico they were clothed and kindly treated by the rich inhabitants; and as discord soon broke out again among them, for having abandoned so fine a country as Florida, the viceroy appeased them by promising to undertake the enterprise speedily in person along with them, when they should all have good pay, and that he would provide for them in the mean time. When clothed, some of the adventurers returned into Spain, others remained in Mexico, and others went into Peru, while some entered into monasteries; and thus all these brave soldiers were dispersed.

Those persons who had been sent by the late general, Ferdinand de Soto, when he first advanced into the interior of Florida, to bring him supplies from the Havannah, faithfully obeyed his orders, as they sailed from thence four several years, and plied all along the coast to find him, but could never hear any tidings of him or any of his men, till, in the year 1543, arriving at Vera Cruz in October, they learnt that the remains of the expedition had been conducted to Mexico. —*This relation has been faithfully taken from that which was transmitted to the king, immediately after the close of that unfortunate enterprise.*

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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